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ANNEX

THE WORKS

OF THE

ENGLISH REFORMERS:

William Tyndale,

1797

AND

John Frith.

EDITED BY

THOMAS RUSSELL, A.M.

Ἀνθρώποις παραδεδακόσι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.—Act. Apost. xv. 26.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

PRINTED FOR EBENEZER PALMER,
18, PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.
MDCCCXXXI.

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B. BENSLEY, PRINTER, ANDOVER.

VOL. I.

The Works of Tyndale:

PROLOGUES TO THE FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES.
PROLOGUE TO THE PROPHET JONAS.
THE PARABLE OF THE WICKED MAMMON.
THE OBEDIENCE OF A CHRISTIAN MAN.
THE PRACTICE OF PRELATES.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT was the Publisher's design, when he commenced this work, to have carried it to a much larger extent, and to have comprised the writings of all the most eminent English and Scottish Reformers, and considerable expense was incurred in the preparation for that end. There appeared little doubt of the undertaking receiving that share of patronage which would have encouraged him to accomplish it, and it is a circumstance he could not have foreseen which compels him to abandon the ground he first occupied to another party. He alludes to the inroads now being made in the publishing business by the Religious *Tract* Society. For the Committee and Trustees of that Society he has the greatest esteem, and he considers many of the *tracts* published by that Society doubtless to have been the means of much usefulness, but he never can consider that they are pursuing their own proper course while they deviate to that which is an invasion of trade. Much is just now argued against monopoly, and most of these arguments will bear hard upon the present proceedings of that valuable Institution.

The Publisher's object, however, in introducing this subject is only to account for the abandonment of his original design. The Religious Tract Society commenced

an abridged series of the Writings of the Reformers at a reduced price after the announcement of his: as there was not room for two editions, and as it could not be expected that one individual could compete with the resources and influence of a combination, the present publisher had no alternative but to cease, at least for the present, the prosecution of his series, and to content himself in the best manner he was able with the loss he sustained thereby.

The three volumes published contain the Writings of two of the earliest Reformers of the English Church, William Tyndale and John Frith: they are reprinted verbatim from the originals, with some additions, and are unabridged.

It was intended to have prefixed, as a first volume, a reprint of Tyndale's Translation of the New Testament, with the various readings of each edition, and space was left for that purpose: but when it was decided to cease the publication of the work, of course, that idea was also abandoned.

It is a source of much unpleasantness to the Publisher's mind to cease the work in so limited a form: this is the second publication which, for the same reason, he has been obliged to abandon, and he knows certainly that he has not been the only publisher who has suffered by the after-intrusion of the Religious Tract Society upon their speculations.

18, *Paternoster Row,*
Sept. 5, 1831.

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A PROLOGUE

BY

WILLIAM TYNDALE,

SHEWING THE USE OF THE SCRIPTURE WHICH HE WROTE BEFORE THE FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES.

THE PREFACE OF MASTER WILLIAM TYNDALE,

THAT HE MADE BEFORE THE FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES, CALLED GENESIS.

ANN. 1530. JAN. 17.

WHEN I had translated the New Testament, I added an Epistle unto the latter end, in which I desired them that were learned to amend if ought were found amiss. But our malicious and wily hypocrites, which are so stubborn, and hard hearted in their wicked abominations, that it is not possible for them to amend any thing at all (as we see by daily experience, when both their lyings and doings are rebuked with the truth) say, some of them, that it is impossible to translate the Scripture into English; some that it is not lawful for the lay people to have it in their mother tongue; some that it would make them all heretics; as it would no doubt from many things which they of long time have falsely taught; and that is the whole cause wherefore they forbid it, though they other cloaks pretend. And some, or rather every one, say that it would make them rise against the king, whom they themselves (unto their damnation) never yet obeyed. And lest the temporal rulers should see their falsehood, if the Scripture came to light, causeth them so to lie.

The reason that the Papists make against the translation of the Scripture into English.

A subtle shift of the Pope's clergy to cover their evil.

And as for my translation, in which they affirm unto the lay people, (as I have heard say) to be I wot not how many thousand heresies, so that it cannot be mended or

How the Papists were vexed

with Tyndale's Translation of the New Testament.

correct, they have yet taken so great pain to examine it, and to compare it unto that they would fain have it, and to their own imaginations and juggling terms, and to have somewhat to rail at; and, under that cloak, to blaspheme the truth, that they might with as little labour (as I suppose) have translated the most part of the Bible. For they which in times past were wont to look on no more Scripture than they found in their *Duns*, or such like devilish doctrine, have yet now so narrowly looked on my Translation, that there is not so much as one *i* therein, if it lack a tittle over his head, but they have noted it, and number it unto the ignorant people for an heresy. Finally, in this they be all agreed,—to drive you from the knowledge of the Scripture, and that ye shall not have the text thereof in the mother tongue; and to keep the world still in darkness, to the intent they might sit in the consciences of the people, through vain superstition and false doctrine; to satisfy their filthy lusts, their proud ambition, and unsatiable covetousness; and to exalt their own honour above king and emperor, yea, and above God himself.

The Papists shamed not to wrest the Scriptures.

The Papists have wrought wonderfully to have suppressed the Scriptures.

A thousand books had they lever to be put forth against their abominable doings and doctrine, than that the Scripture should come to light. For as long as they may keep that down, they will so darken the right way with the mist of their sophistry, and so tangle them that either rebuke or despise their abominations, with arguments of philosophy, and with worldly similitudes and apparent reasons of natural wisdom; and with wresting the Scripture unto their own purpose, clean contrary unto the process, order, and meaning of the text; and so delude them in descanting upon it with allegories; and amaze them, expounding it in many senses before the unlearned lay people, (when it hath but one simple, literal sense, whose light the owls cannot abide) that though thou feel in thine heart, and art sure, how that all is false that they say, yet couldst thou not solve their subtle riddles.

As owls abide not the brightness of the day, so cannot the Papists abide the light of the gospel.

What first moved W. Tyndale to translate the Scripture into English.

Which thing only moved me to translate the New Testament. Because I had perceived by experience, how that it was impossible to establish the lay people in any truth except the Scripture were plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text: for else, whatsoever truth is taught them, these enemies of all truth quench it again, partly with the smoke of their bottomless pit, whereof thou readest in Apocalypse chap. ix. that is, with apparent reasons of sophistry, and traditious of their own making, founded without ground of Scripture, and partly in juggling with the text, expounding it in such a sense as is impossible to gather of the text, if thou see the process, order, and meaning thereof.

This Bishop of London was then Tonstall, which afterward was Bishop of Durham.

And even in the bishop of London's house I intended to have done it. For when I was so turmoiled in the country where I was, that I could no longer dwell there, (the process whereof were too long here to rehearse) I this wise thought in myself—this I suffer because the priests of the country be unlearned, as God knoweth, there are a full ignorant sort which have seen no more Latin than that they read in their Portesses and Missals, which yet many of them can scarcely read, (except it be *Albertus de Secretis Mulierum*, in which yet, though they be never so sorrily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the midwives as they say; and Linwode, a book of constitutions to gather tythes, mortuaries, offerings, customs, and other pillage which they call not theirs, but God's part, and the duty of holy church to discharge their consciences withal: for they are bound that they shall not diminish, but encrease all things unto the uttermost of their powers) and, therefore, (because they are thus unlearned, thought I,) when they come together to the ale-house, which is their preaching place, they affirm that my sayings are heresy. And besides that, they add to of their own heads which I never spake, as the manner is, to prolong the tale to short the time withal, and accused me secretly to the chancellor, and other the bishop's officers. And, indeed,

The Pope's chaplain's pulpit is the alehouse.

Christ's apostles did meekly admonish, but the Pope's sectaries brawl and scold.

when I came before the chancellor, he threatened me grievously, and reviled me, and rated me as though I had been a dog, and laid to my charge whereof there could be none accuser brought forth (as their manner is not to bring forth the accuser) and yet all the priests of the country were the same day there.

Partiality sometimes in men of great learning.

As I this thought, the bishop of London came to my remembrance, whom Erasmus (whose tongue maketh of little gnats great elephants, and lifteth up above the stars whosoever giveth him a little exhibition) praiseth exceedingly, among other in his Annotations on the New Testament, for his great learning. Then, thought I, if I might come to this man's service, I were happy. And so I gat me to London, and, through the acquaintance of my master, came to sir Harry Gilford, the king's grace's comptroller, and brought him an *Oration of Isocrates*, which I had translated out of Greek into English, and desired him to speak unto my lord of London for me, which he also did as he shewed me, and willed me to write an epistle to my lord, and to go to him myself, which I also did, and delivered my epistle to a servant of his own, one William Hebilthwayte, a man of mine old acquaintance. But God (which knoweth what is within hypocrites) saw that I was beguiled, and that that counsel was not the next way unto my purpose. And therefore he gat me no favour in my lord's sight.

How Tyndale was deceived.

Tyndale could get no place in the Bishop of London's house.

Whereupon my lord answered me, his house was full, he had more than he could well find, and advised me to seek in London, where he said I could not lack a service. And so in London I abode almost a year, and marked the course of the world, and heard our praters, I would say our preachers, how they boasted themselves and their high authority; and beheld the pomp of our prelates, and how busy they were, as they yet are, to set peace and unity in the world (though it be not possible for them that walk in darkness to continue long in peace, for they cannot but either stumble or dash themselves at one thing or another that shall clean unquiet all together) and saw things where-

of I defer to speak at this time, and understood at the last not only that there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England, as experience doth now openly declare.

Room enough in my lord's house for belly cheer, but none to translate the New Testament.

Under what manner, therefore, should I now submit this book to be corrected and amended of them, which can suffer nothing to be well? Or what protestation should I make in such a matter unto our prelates, those stubborn Nimrods which so mightily fight against God, and resist his Holy Spirit, enforcing with all craft and subtlety to quench the light of the everlasting Testament, promises, and appointment made between God and us? and heaping the fierce wrath of God upon all princes and rulers; mocking them with false feigned names of hypocrisy, and serving their lusts at all points, and dispensing with them even of the very laws of God, of which Christ himself testifieth, Matt. v. "That not so much as one tittle thereof may perish, or be broken." And of which the prophet saith, Psalm cxviii. "Thou hast commanded thy laws to be kept" *meod*, that is in Hebrew, exceedingly, with all diligence, might, and power; and have made them so mad with their juggling charms, and crafty persuasions, that they think it a full satisfaction for all their wicked lying to torment such as tell them truth, and to burn the word of their soul's health, and slay whosoever believe thereon.

Tyndale's submission is to all such as submit themselves to God.

Notwithstanding, yet I submit this book, and all other that I have either made or translated, or shall in time to come, (if it be God's will that I shall further labour in his harvest,) unto all them that submit themselves unto the word of God, to be corrected of them; yea, and moreover to be disallowed and also burnt, if it seem worthy, when they have examined it with the Hebrew, so that they first put forth of their own translating another that is more correct.

A PROLOGUE BY WILLIAM TYNDALE,

SHEWING THE USE OF THE SCRIPTURE, WHICH HE WROTE BEFORE THE FIVE BOOKS OF MOSES.

THOUGH a man had a precious jewel, and a rich, yet if he wist not the value thereof, nor wherefore it served, he were neither the better nor richer of a straw. Even so though we read the Scripture, and babble of it never so much, yet if we know not the use of it, and wherefore it was given, and what is therein to be sought, it profiteth us nothing at all. It is not enough, therefore, to read and talk of it only, but we must also desire God, day and night, instantly to open our eyes, and to make us understand and feel wherefore the Scripture was given, that we may apply the medicine of the Scripture, every man to his own sores; unless then we intend to be idle disputers, and brawlers about vain words, ever gnawing upon the bitter bark without, and never attaining unto the sweet pith within; and persecuting one another in defending of lewd imaginations, and phantasies of our own invention.

Not the tongue but the life proveth a true gospeller.

Paul, in the iii[d] of the second Epistle to Timothy, saith, "that the Scripture is good to teach," (for that ought men to teach, and not dreams of their own making, as the Pope doth,) "and also to improve;" for the Scripture is the touch-stone that trieth all doctrines, and by that we know the false from the true. And in the vi[th] to the Ephesians he calleth it "the sword of the Spirit," because it killeth hypocrites, and uttereth and improveth their

The truest touchstone of religion is Christ's gospel.

false inventions. And in the xv^th^ to the Romans he saith, "All that are written, are written for our learning; that we, through patience and comfort of the Scripture, might have hope." That is, the ensamples that are in the Scripture comfort us in all our tribulations, and make us to put our trust in God, and patiently to abide his leisure. And in the 10th of the first to the Corinthians, he bringeth in examples of the Scripture to fear us, and to bridle the flesh, that we cast not the yoke of the law of God from off our necks, and fall to lusting and doing of evil.

The Scripture of God is the sword of the Spirit.

So now the Scripture is a light, and sheweth as the true way both what to do and what to hope for. And a defence from all error, and a comfort in adversity that we despair not, and feareth us in prosperity, that we sin not. Seek therefore in the Scripture, as thou readest it, first the law, what God commandeth us to do; and secondarily, the promises, which God promiseth us again, namely in Christ Jesus our Lord. Then seek ensamples, first of comfort, how God purgeth all them that submit themselves to walk in his ways, in the purgatory of tribulation, delivering them yet at the latter end, and never suffering any of them to perish that cleave fast to his promises. And, finally, note the ensamples which are written, to fear the flesh, that we sin not: that is, how God suffereth the ungodly and wicked sinners that resist God, and refuse to follow him, to continue in their wickedness; ever waxing worse and worse, until their sin be so sore increased, and so abominable, that if they should longer endure they would corrupt the very elect. But for the elect's sake God sendeth them preachers. Nevertheless, they harden their hearts against the truth, and God destroyeth them utterly, and beginneth the world anew.

Tribulation is the gift of God.

What we ought to seek in the Scriptures.

This comfort shalt thou evermore find in the plain text and literal sense. Neither is there any story so homely, so rude, yea, or so vile, (as it seemeth outward) wherein is not exceeding great comfort. And when some, which seem to themselves great clerks, say, They wot not what

more profit is in many gests of the Scripture, if they be read without an allegory, than in a tale of Robinhood: say thou, that they were written for our consolation and comfort, that we despair not, if such like happen unto us. We be not holier than Noah, though he were once drunk: neither better beloved than Jacob, though his own son defiled his bed. We be not holier than Lot, though his daughters through ignorance deceived him; nor, peradventure, holier than those daughters. Neither are we holier than David, though he brake wedlock, and upon the same committed abominable murder. All those men have witness of the Scripture that they pleased God, and were good men, both before that those things chanced them, and also after. Nevertheless such things happened them for our ensample: not that we should counterfeit their evil; but if while we fight with ourselves, enforcing to walk in the law of God, as they did, we yet fall likewise, that we despair not, but come again to the laws of God, and take better hold.

A goodly comfort against desperation.

We read, since the time of Christ's death, of virgins that have been brought unto the common stews, and there defiled; and of martyrs that have been bound, and whores have abused their bodies. Why? The judgments of God are bottomless. Such things chanced partly for ensamples; partly, God through sin healeth sin. Pride can neither be healed, nor yet appear, but through such horrible deeds. Peradventure they were of the Pope's sect, and rejoiced fleshly, thinking that heaven came by deeds, and not by Christ; and that the outward deed justified them and made them holy, and not the inward spirit received by faith, and the consent of heart unto the law of God.

Ensamples of their evils not to bolden us, but to fear us from sin and desperation.

As thou readest, therefore, think that every syllable pertaineth to thine own self, and suck out the pith of the Scripture, and arm thyself against all assaults. First note with strong faith the power of God, in creating all of nought; then mark the grievous fall of Adam, and of us

How we ought to prepare ourselves to the reading of the Scriptures.

all in him, through the light regarding of the commandment of God. In the iv^th^ chapter God turneth him unto Abel, and then to his offering, but not to Cain and his offering: where thou seest that though the deeds of the evil appear outwardly as glorious as the deeds of the good; yet in the sight of God, which looketh on the heart, the deed is good because of the man, and not the man good because of his deed. In the vi^th^ God sendeth Noah to preach to the wicked, and giveth them space to repent: they wax hard hearted, God bringeth them to nought, and yet saveth Noah; even by the same water by which he destroyed them. Mark also what followed the pride of the building of the tower of Babel.

Consider how God sendeth forth Abraham out of his own country into a strange land, full of wicked people, and gave him but a bare promise with him that would bless him and defend him. Abraham believed, and that word saved and delivered him in all perils: so that we see how that man's life is not maintained by bread only, (as Christ saith) but much rather by believing the promises of God. Behold how soberly, and how circumspectly, both Abraham and also Isaac behave themselves among the infidels. Abraham buyeth that which might have been given him for nought, to cut off occasions. Isaac, when his wells, which he had digged, were taken from him, giveth room and resisteth not. Moreover, they ear and sow, and feed their cattle, and make confederations, and take perpetual truce, and do all outward things; even as they do which have no faith, for God hath not made us to be idle in this world. Every man must work godly and truly to the uttermost of the power that God hath given him; and yet not trust therein, but in God's word or promise, and God will work with us, and bring that we do to good effect: and then, when our power will extend no further, God's promises will work all alone.

Faith our surest shield in all assaults.

We may not trust in our works, but in the word and promise of God.

How many things also resisted the promises of God to Jacob! And yet Jacob conjureth God with his own

God burthened with his promise.

promises, saying, "O God of my father Abraham, and God of my father Isaac! Oh, Lord! which saidest unto me, Return unto thine own country, and unto the place where thou wast born, and I will do thee good; I am not worthy of the least of those mercies, nor of that truth which thou hast done to thy servant. I went out with a staff, and come home with two droves: deliver me out of the hands of my brother Esau, for I fear him greatly," &c. And God delivered him, and will likewise all that call unto his promises with a repenting heart, were they never so great sinners. Mark also the weak infirmities of the man. He loveth one wife more than another, one son more than another. And see how God purgeth him. Esau threateneth him; Laban beguileth him; the beloved wife is long barren; his daughter is ravished; his wife is defiled, and that of his own son. Rachel dieth, Joseph is taken away, yea, and, as he supposed, rent of wild beasts. And yet how glorious was his end! Note the weakness of his children, yea and the sin of them, and how God through their own wickedness saved them. These ensamples teach us, that a man is not at once perfect the first day he beginneth to live well. They that be strong, therefore, must suffer with the weak, and help to keep them in unity and peace, one with another, until they be stronger.

The Holy Ghost breaketh where and when it pleaseth him.

Note what the brethren said when they were [attached and arrested] in Egypt: "We have verily sinned (said they) against our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us, and would not hear him; and therefore is this tribulation come upon us." By which ensample thou seest how that conscience of evil doings findeth men out at last. But namely, in tribulation and adversity; there temptation, and also desperation, yea, and the very pains of hell, find us out: there the soul feeleth the fierce wrath of God, and wisheth mountains to fall on her, and to hide her (if it were possible) from the angry face of God.

Conscience of evil doings findeth out evil men.

Mark, also, how great evils follow of how little an

occasion. Dinah goeth but forth alone to see the daughters of the country, and how great mischief and trouble followed! Jacob loved but one son more than mother, and how grievous murder followed in their hearts! These are examples for our learning, to teach us to walk warily and circumspectly in the world of weak people, that we give no man occasions of evil.

Of small occasions do rise great evils.

Finally, see what God promised Joseph in his dreams. Those promises accompanied him always, and went down with him even into the deep dungeon, and brought him up again, and never forsook him till all that was promised was fulfilled. These are ensamples written for our learning, (as Paul saith) to teach us to trust in God in the strong fire of tribulation, and purgatory of our flesh. And that they which submit themselves to follow God, should note and mark such things; for their learning and comfort is the fruit of the Scripture, and cause why it was written. And with such a purpose to read it, is the way to everlasting life, and to those joyful blessings that are promised unto all nations in the seed of Abraham, which seed is Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom be honour and praise for ever, and unto God our Father through him. Amen.

Ensamples for our learning.

A TABLE,

EXPOUNDING CERTAIN WORDS IN THE FIRST BOOK OF MOSES CALLED GENESIS.

ABRECH. Tender father; or, as some will, bow the knee.

ARK. A ship made flat, as it were a chest, or a coffer.

BISSE. Fine white, whether it be silk or linen.

BLESS. God's blessings are his gifts: as in the first chapter he blessed them, saying, "Grow and multiply, and have dominion," &c. And in the ninth chapter he blessed Noah and his sons, and gave them dominion over all beasts, and authority to eat them. And God blessed Abraham with cattle, and other riches. And Jacob desired Esau to receive the blessing which he brought him, that is the present and gift. God blessed the seventh day; that is, gave it a pre-eminence, that men should rest therein from bodily labour, and learn to know the will of God and his laws, and how to work their works godly all the week after. God also blesseth all nations in Abraham's seed; that is, he turneth his love and favour unto them, and giveth them his Spirit and knowledge of the true way, and lust and power to walk therein, and all for Christ's sake, Abraham's son.

CAIN. So is it written in Hebrew. Notwithstanding, whether we call him *Cain*, or *Caim*, it maketh no matter, so we understand the meaning. Every land hath his manner: that we call *John*, the Welshmen call *Euan*, the Dutch *Haunce*. Such difference is between the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; and that maketh them that

translate out of the Hebrew vary in names from them that translate out of Latin or Greek.

CURSE. God's curse is the taking away of his benefits. As God cursed the earth and made it barren. So now hunger, dearth, war, pestilence, and such like, are yet right curses and signs of the wrath of God unto the unbelievers; but unto them that know Christ they are very blessings, and that wholesome cross, and true purgatory of our flesh, through which all must go that will live godly and be saved: as thou readest Matt. v. "Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake," &c. And Heb. xi. "The Lord chastiseth whom he loveth; and scourgeth all the children that he receiveth."

EDEN. Pleasure.

FIRMAMENT. The sky.

FAITH, is the believing of God's promises, and a sure trust in the goodness and truth of God. Which faith justified Abraham, (Gen xv.) and was the mother of all his good works which he afterwards did. For faith is the goodness of all works in the sight of God. Good works are things of God's commandment wrought in faith. And to sew a shoe at the commandment of God, to do thy neighbour service withal, with faith to be saved by Christ, (as God promiseth us) is much better than to build an abbey of thine own imagination, trusting to be saved by the feigned works of hypocrites. Jacob robbed Laban his uncle; Moses robbed the Egyptians; and Abraham is about to slay and burn his own son; and all are holy works, because they are wrought in faith at God's commandment. To steal, rob, and murder, are no holy works before worldly people, but unto them that have their trust in God: they are holy when God commandeth them. What God commandeth not, getteth no reward with God. Holy works of men's imaginations receive their reward here, as Christ testifieth, Matt. vi. Howbeit, of faith and works I have spoken abundantly in *Mammon*. Let him that desireth more, seek there.

GRACE. Favour: as Noah found grace; that is to say, found favour and love.

HAM and CAM all one.

JEHOVAH, is God's name; neither is any creature so called; and it is as much to say, as one that is of himself, and dependeth of nothing. Moreover, as oft as thou seest LORD in great letters, (except there be any error in the printing) it is in Hebrew *Jehovah*, thou that art, or he that is.

MARSHAL. In Hebrew he is called *Sartabaim:* as thou wouldest say, Lord of the slaughtermen: And though that *Tabaim* be taken for cooks in many places, (for the cooks did slay the beasts themselves in those days,) yet it may be taken for them that put men to execution also. And that I thought it should here best signify, inasmuch as he had the oversight of the king's prison, and the king's prisoners were they never so great men were under his custody: and therefore I call him chief Marshal; an officer, as is the lieutenant of the Tower, or master of the Marshalsea.

SLIME was their mortar, xith chapter: and slime-pits, xivth chapter. That slime was a fatness that oosed out of the earth, like unto tar; and thou mayest call it cement if thou wilt.

SILOH. After some, is as much to say as sent; and after some, happy; and after some, it signifieth Messias; that is to say, anointed, and that we call Christ after the Greek word. And it is a prophecy of Christ; for after all the other tribes were in captivity, and their kingdom destroyed, yet the tribe of Judah had a ruler of the same blood, even unto the coming of Christ: and about the coming of Christ the Romans conquered them, and the emperor gave the kingdom of [the] tribe Judah unto Herod, which was a stranger, even an Edomite, of the generation of Esau.

TESTAMENT here, is an appointment made between God and man, and God's promises. And Sacrament is a sign representing such appointment and promises; as the

rainbow representeth the promise made to Noah, that God will no more drown the world. And circumcision representeth the promises of God to Abraham, on the one side, and that Abraham and his seed should circumcise, and cut off the lusts of their flesh, on the other side, to walk in the ways of the Lord. As baptism, which is come in the room thereof, now signifieth on the one side, how that all that repent and believe are washed in Christ's blood; and, on the other side, how that the same must quench and drown the lusts of the flesh, to follow the steps of Christ.

There were Tyrants in the earth in those days, for the sons of God saw the daughters of men, &c. The sons of God were the prophet's children, which, though they succeeded their father, fell yet from the right way; and, through falsehood of hypocrisy, subdued the world under them, and became tyrants, as the successors of the apostles have played with us.

VAPOUR. A dewy mist, as the smoke of a seething pot.

To walk with God, is to live godly, and to walk in his commandments.

Enos walked with God, and was no more seen; he lived godly, and died. God took him away; that is, God hid his body as he did Moses and Aaron's, lest haply they should have made an idol of him, for he was a great preacher, and a holy man.

ZAPHNATH PAENEA. Words of Egypt are they (as I suppose); and as much to say, as a man to whom secret things be opened; or an expounder of secret things, as some interpret it.

That Joseph brought the Egyptians into such a subjection, would seem unto some a very cruel deed: howbeit, it was a very equal way; for they paid but the fifth part of that that grew on the ground, and therewith were they quit of all duties, both of rent, custom, tribute, and toll: and the king therewith found them lords, and all ministers, and defended them. We now pay half so much unto the

priests only, beside their other crafty exactions. Then pay we rent yearly, though there grow never so little on the ground; and yet when the king calleth, pay we never the less. So that if we look indifferently, their condition was easier than ours; and but even a very indifferent way, both for the common people, and the king also.

See, therefore, that thou look not on the ensamples of the Scripture with worldly eyes, lest thou prefer Cain before Abel, Ismael before Isaac, Esau before Jacob, Ruben before Judah, Sarah before Phares, Manasses before Ephraim, and even the worst before the best, as the manner of the world is.

A PROLOGUE

INTO THE SECOND BOOK OF MOSES CALLED EXODUS.

OF the preface upon Genesis mayest thou understand how to behave thyself in this book also, and in all other books of the Scripture. Cleave unto the text and plain story, and endeavour thyself to search out the meaning of all that is described therein, and the true sense of all manner of speakings of the Scripture; of proverbs, similitudes, and borrowed speech, whereof I entreated in the end of the obedience, and beware of subtle allegories.

Learn here how to read and understand the Scripture.

And note every thing earnestly, as things pertaining unto thine own heart and soul.

For as God used himself unto them of the Old Testament, even so shall he unto the world's end use himself unto us which have received his holy Scripture, and the testimony of his son Jesus. As God doth all things here

for them that believe his promises, and hearken unto his commandments, and with patience cleave unto him, and walk with him: even so shall he do for us, if we receive the witness of Christ with a strong faith, and endure patiently, following his steps. And on the other side, as they that fell from the promise of God through unbelief, and from his law and ordinances, through impatiency of their own lusts, were forsaken of God, and so perished; even so shall we, as many as do likewise, and as many as mock with the doctrine of Christ, and make a cloak of it to live fleshly, and to follow our lusts.

If we hearken unto the voice of God, and bend ourselves to do his will, he will be our God, and help us; but otherwise, he will plague us as he plagued the unthankful and faithless Jews.

Note thereto how God is found true at the last; and how, when all is past remedy, and brought into desperation, he then fulfilleth his promises, and that by an abject and a cast-away, a despised, and a refused person; yea, and by a way impossible to believe.

The cause of all [the] captivity of God's people is this: the world ever hateth them for their faith and trust which they have in God: but in vain, till they fall from the faith of the promises and love of the law and ordinances of God, and put their trust in holy deeds of their own finding, and live altogether at their own lust and pleasure, without regard of God, or respect of their neighbour. Then God forsaketh us, and sendeth us into captivity for our dishonouring of his name, and despising of our neighbour. But the world persecuteth us for our faith in Christ only, (as the pope now doth) and not for our wicked living. For in his kingdom thou mayest quietly, and with licence, and under a protection, do whatsoever abomination thy heart lusteth; but God persecuteth us because we abuse his holy Testament, and because, when we know the truth, we follow it not.

Trust and believe in God, and care not what the world say.

The world liketh well all wicked livers and ungodly people.

Note, also, the mighty hand of the Lord, how he playeth with his adversaries, and provoketh them, and stirreth them up a little and a little, and delivereth not his people in an hour; that both the patience of his elect, and also the worldly wit and wily policy of the

wicked, wherewith they do fight against God, might appear.

Here is set forth the office of every good person.

Mark the long-suffering and soft patience of Moses, and how he loveth the people, and is ever between the wrath of God and them, and is ready to live and die with them, and to be put out of the book that God had written for their sakes, (as Paul for his brethren, Rom. ix.) and how he taketh his own wrongs patiently, and never avengeth himself. And make not Moses a figure of Christ with Rochester; but an ensample unto all princes, and to all that are in authority, how to rule unto God's pleasure, and unto their neighbour's profit. For there is not a perfecter life in this world, both to the honour of God and profit of his neighbour, nor yet a greater cross, than to rule christianly. And of Aaron also, see that thou make no figure of Christ, until he come unto his sacrificing; but an ensample unto all preachers of God's word, that they add nothing unto God's word, or [nor] take ought therefrom.

Temptation is the trial of true Christians.

Note also, how God sendeth his promise to the people, and Moses confirmeth it with miracles, and the people believe. But when temptation cometh they fall into unbelief, and few bide standing. Where thou seest that all be not christian that will be so called, and that the cross trieth the true from the feigned; for if the cross were not, Christ should have disciples enough.

The excellency of faith, which is the gift of God.

Whereof also thou seest, what an excellent gift of God true faith is, and impossible to be had without the Spirit of God. For it is above all natural power, that a man, in time of temptation, when God scourgeth him, should

Those whom God scourgeth he dearly loveth.

believe then stedfastly how that God loveth him, and careth for him, and hath prepared all good things for him, and that that scourging is an earnest that God hath elect and chosen him.

A necessary lesson for a good preacher.

Note how oft Moses stirred them up to believe and trust in God, putting them in remembrance alway in time of temptation of the miracles and wonders that God hath wrought before time in their eye-sight. How

diligently also forbiddeth he all that might withdraw their hearts from God! To put nought to God's word, to take nought therefrom: to do only that which is right in the sight of the Lord; that they should make no manner [of] image, to kneel down before it; yea, that they should make none altar of hewed stone, for fear of images; to flee the heathen idolaters utterly, and to destroy their idols, and cut down their groves where they worshipped: and that they should not take the daughters of them unto their sons, nor give their daughters to the sons of them. And that whosoever moved any of them to worship false gods, howsoever nigh of kin he were, they must accuse him, and bring him to death: yea, and wheresoever they heard of man, woman, or city that worshipped false gods, they should slay them, and destroy the city for ever, and not build it again. And all because they should worship nothing but God, nor put confidence in any thing, save in his word.

God commandeth that we should make no images.

The worshipping of idols or images was abhorred of God.

Yea, and how warneth he to beware of witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment, necromancy, and all crafts of the devil, and of dreamers, soothsayers, and of miracle-doers to destroy his word, and that they should suffer none such to live.

Witchcraft, sorcery, &c. abhorred of God.

Thou wilt haply say, They tell a man the truth. What then? God will that we care not to know what shall come. He will have us to care only to keep his commandments, and to commit all chances unto him. He hath promised to care for us, and to keep us from all evil. All things are in his hand; he can remedy all things; and will, for his truth's sake, if we pray him. In his promises only will he have us trust, and there rest, and to seek no farther.

How also doth he provoke them to love; ever rehearsing the benefits of God done to them already, and the godly promises that were to come! And how goodly laws of love giveth he, to help one another: and that a man should not hate his neighbour in his heart, but love

Moses often rehearseth the benefits of almighty God, to move us to fear him, and to love our neighbour.

him as himself, Lev. xix. And what a charge giveth he in every place over the poor and needy; over the stranger, friendless, and widow! And when he desireth to shew mercy, he rehearseth withal the benefits of God done to them at their need, that they might see a cause, at the least way in God, to shew mercy of very love unto their neighbours at their need.

Also there is no law so simple in appearance, throughout all the five books of Moses, but that there is a great reason of the making thereof, if a man search diligently. As that a man is forbid to seeth a kid in his mother's milk, moveth us unto compassion, and to be pitiful. As doth also that a man should not offer the sire or dam and the young both in one day. (Lev. xxii.) For it might seem a cruel thing, inasmuch as his mother's milk is, as it were, his blood; wherefore God will not have him sod therein; but will have a man show courtesy, upon the very beasts. As in another place he commandeth that we muzzle not the ox that treadeth out the corn, (which manner of threshing is used in hot countries,) and that because we should much rather to be liberal and kind unto men that do us service. Or haply, God would have no such wanton meat used among his people. For the kid of itself is nourishing, and the goat's milk is restorative; and both together might be too rank, and therefore forbidden, or some other like cause there was.

God will have us to be merciful to our neighbours.

Of the ceremonies, sacrifices, and tabernacle, with all his glory and pomp, understand that they were not permitted only, but also commanded of God, to lead the people in the shadows of Moses and night of the Old Testament, until the light of Christ and day of the New Testament were come. As children are led in the phantasies of youth until the discretion of man's age be come upon them. And all was done to keep them from idolatry.

All the ceremonies of the Old Testament were but preachers of Christ that was to come.

The tabernacle was ordained to the intent they might have a place appointed them to do their sacrifices openly

in the sight of the people, and namely, of the priests which waited thereon; that it might be seen that they did all things according to God's word, and not after the idolatry of their own imagination. And the costliness of the tabernacle, and the beauty also pertained thereunto, that they should see nothing so beautiful among the heathen, but that they should see more beautiful and wonderful at home; because they should not be moved to follow them.

The beauty of the tabernacle was to keep the Jews from hearkening to the heathen.

And in like manner the divers fashions of sacrifices and ceremonies was to occupy their minds, that they should have no lust to follow the heathen; and the multitude of them was, that they should have so much to do in keeping them, that they should have no leisure to imagine other of their own: yea, and that God's word might be thereby in all that they did, that they might have their faith and trust in God, which he cannot have that followeth either his own inventions, or traditions of men's making, without God's word.

Finally: God hath two Testaments, the Old and the New. The Old Testament is those temporal promises which God made the children of Israel of a good land, and that he would defend them, and of wealth and prosperity, and of temporal blessings, of which thou readest over all the law of Moses; but namely, Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii. and the avoiding of all threatenings and curses, of which thou readest likewise every where, but specially in the two books above rehearsed, and the avoiding of all punishment ordained for the transgressors of the law.

God had two Testaments, that is, the Old and the New.

And the Old Testament was built altogether upon the keeping of the law and ceremonies, and was the reward of keeping of them in this life only, and reached no farther than this life and this world: as thou readest, Lev. xviii. "A man that doth them shall live therein;" which text Paul rehearseth, Rom. x. and Gal. iii. That is, he that keepeth them shall have this life glorious, according to all the promises and blessings of the law, and shall avoid both all temporal punishment of the law, with all the threaten-

The Old Testament was built upon the observation of the law.

The law could not give life.

ings and cursings also. For neither the law, even of the ten commandments, nor yet the ceremonies, justified in the heart before God, or purified unto the life to come. Insomuch, that Moses at his death, even forty years after the law and ceremonies were given, complaineth, saying, God hath not given you an heart to understand, nor eyes to see, nor ears to hear unto this day. As who should say, God hath given you ceremonies, but ye know not the use of them; and hath given you a law, but hath not written it in your hearts.

Wherefore serveth the law then, if it giveth us no power to do the law? Paul answereth them, that it was given to utter sin only, and to make it appear. As a corrosive is laid unto an old sore, not to heal it, but to stir it up, and make the disease alive, that a man might feel in what jeopardy he is, and how nigh death, and not aware, and to make a way unto the healing plaister.

The law is not the utterer of sin.

Even so saith Paul, Gal. iii. "The law was given because of transgression, (that is, to make the sin alive, that it might be felt and seen,) until the seed came unto whom it was promised: that is to say, until the children of faith came, or until Christ, that seed in whom God promised Abraham that all nations of the world should be blessed, came.

The law was given by God to shew what sin was.

That is, the law was given to utter sin, death, damnation, and curse, and to drive us unto Christ, in whom forgiveness, life, justifying, and blessings were promised; that we might see so great love of God toward in Christ, that we, henceforth overcome with kindness, might love again, and of love keep the commandments.

Ceremonies are not given to justify the heart, but to signify our justification by Christ.

Now he that goeth about to quiet his conscience, and to justify himself with the law, doth but heal his wounds with fretting corrosives. And he that goeth about to purchase grace with ceremonies, doth but suck the ale pole to quench his thirst, inasmuch as the ceremonies were not given to justify the heart, but to signify the justifying, and forgiveness that is in Christ's blood.

Of the ceremonies that they justify not thou readest Heb. x. "It is impossible that sin should be done away with the blood of oxen and goats." And of the law thou readest, Gal. iii. "If there had been a law given that could have quickened or given life, then had righteousness, or justifying, come by the law indeed. Now the law not only quickeneth not the heart, but also woundeth it with conscience of sin, and ministereth death and damnation unto her." 2 Cor. iii. So that she must needs die and be damned, except she find other remedy. So far it is off that she is justified, or holpen by the law.

Ceremonies cannot justify.

The new Testament is those everlasting promises which are made us in Christ the Lord, throughout all the Scripture. And that Testament is built on faith, and not in works. For it is not said of that Testament, He that worketh shall live; but "he that believeth shall live:" as thou readest, John iii. "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that none which believe in him should perish, but have life everlasting."

The New Testament are the everlasting promises made to us in Christ.

Faith only justifieth.

And when this Testament is preached and believed, the Spirit entereth the heart, and quickeneth it, and giveth her life, and justifieth her. The Spirit also maketh the law a lively thing in the heart, so that a man bringeth forth good works of his own accord, without compulsion of the law, without fear of threatenings, or cursings; yea, and without all manner respect or love unto any temporal pleasure, but of the very power of the Spirit, received through faith, as thou readest, John i. "He gave them power to be the sons of God, in that they believed on his name."

Good works spring out of the love we have to God.

And of that power they work; so that he which hath the Spirit of Christ is now no more a child: he neither learneth nor worketh any longer for pain of the rod, or for fear of bugs or pleasure of apples, but doth all things of his own courage: as Christ saith, John vii. "He that believeth on me shall have rivers of living waters flowing out of his belly." That is, all good works, and all gifts

Where true faith is, there good works do flow and abound.

of grace spring out of him naturally, and by their own accord. Thou needest not to wrest good works out of him, as a man would wring verjuice out of crabs: nay, they flow naturally out of him, as springs out of rocks.

The New Testament was from the beginning.

The New Testament was ever, even from the beginning of the world. For there were always promises of Christ to come by faith, in which promises the elect were then justified inwardly before God, as outwardly before the world, by keeping of the law and ceremonies.

And in conclusion, as thou seest blessings, or cursings follow the breaking or keeping of the law of Moses; even so, naturally, do the blessings or cursings follow the breaking or keeping of the law of nature, out of which spring all our temporal laws. So that when the people keep the temporal laws of their land, temporal prosperity, and all manner of such temporal blessings (as thou readest of in Moses) do accompany them, and fall upon them. And, contrariwise, when they sin unpunished, and when the rulers have no respect unto equity or honesty, then God sendeth his curse among them, as hunger, dearth, murrain, banning, pestilence, war, oppression, with strange and wonderful diseases, and new kinds of misfortune and evil luck.

Our temporal laws spring out of the law of nature.

If any man ask me, seeing that faith justifieth me, Why I work? I answer, Love compelleth me. For as long as my soul feeleth what love God hath shewed me in Christ, I cannot but love God again, and his will and commandments, and of love work them, nor can they seem hard unto me. I think not myself better for my working, nor seek heaven, nor an higher place in heaven, because of it. For a Christian worketh to make his weak brother perfecter, and not to seek an higher place in heaven. I compare not myself unto him that worketh not. No, he that worketh not to-day, shall have grace to turn, and to work tomorrow; and in the mean season I pity him, and pray for him. If I had wrought the will of God these thousand years, and another had wrought the will of

Love counselleth the faithful to work.

We must not presume in our well-doing, nor condemn others that run astray: the last, which turneth to God, is as far forward as the first.

the devil as long, and this day turn and be as well willing to suffer with Christ as I, he hath this day overtaken me, and is as far come as I, and shall have as much reward as I: and I envy him not, but rejoice most of all as of lost treasure found.

For if I be of God, I have these thousand years suffered to win him, for to come and praise the name of God with me. These thousand years I have prayed, sorrowed, longed, sighed, and sought for that which I have this day found; and therefore rejoice with all my might, and praise God for his grace and mercy.

A TABLE,

EXPOUNDING CERTAIN WORDS OF THE SECOND BOOK OF GENESIS.

ALBE. A long garment of white linen.

ARK. A coffer, or chest, as our shrines, save it was flat, and the sample of our shrines was taken thereof.

BOOTH. An house made of boughs.

BRESTLAP, or brestflap, is such a flap as thou seest in the breast of a cope.

CONSECRATE. To appoint a thing to holy uses.

DEDICATE. Purify or sanctify.

GEERAS. In weight as it were an English halfpenny, or somewhat more.

HEAVE-OFFERING. Because they were hoven up before the Lord.

HOUSE. He made them houses: that is, he made a kindred, or a multitude of people to spring out of them; as we say the house of David, for the kindred of David.

PEACE-OFFERING. Offerings of thanksgiving of devotion, and not for conscience of sin and trespass.

POLLUTE. Defile.

RECONCILE. To make at one, and to bring in grace or favour.

SANCTIFY. To cleanse and purify; to appoint a thing unto holy uses, and to separate from unclean and unholy uses.

SANCTUARY. A place hallowed and dedicate unto God.

TABERNACLE. A house made tentwise, or as a pavilion.

TUNICLE. Much like the uppermost garment of the deacon.

WAIVE-OFFERING. Because they were waiven in the priest's hands to divers quarters.

WORSHIP. By worshipping, whether it be in the Old Testament, or New, understand the bowing of a man's self upon the ground: as we ofttimes, as we kneel in our prayers, bow ourselves, and lie on our arms and hands, with our face to the ground.

Of this word I WILL BE, cometh the name of God, Jehovah, which we interpret Lord; and is as much to say, as I am that I am. (chap. iii.)

That I here call a sheep, in Hebrew is a word indifferent to a sheep and a goat both. (chap. xii.)

The Lamb was called passover; that the very name itself should put them in remembrance what it signified; for the signs that God ordained either signified the benefits done, or promises to come, and were not dumb, as the signs of our dumb god the Pope.

JEHOVAH NISSI. The Lord is he that exalteth me. (chap. xvii.)

EPHOD is a garment somewhat like an amice, save the arms came through, and it was girded too.

SHEWBREAD. Because it was always in the sight and presence of the Lord. (chap. xxv.)

A PROLOGUE

INTO THE THIRD BOOK OF MOSES CALLED LEVITICUS.

THE ceremonies which are described in the book following were chiefly ordained of God, (as I said in the end of the Prologue upon Exodus,) to occupy the minds of that people the Israelites, and to keep them from serving of God after the imagination of their blind zeal and good intent; that their consciences might be stablished, and they sure that they pleased God therein, which were impossible, if a man did of his own head that which was not commanded of God, nor depended of any appointment made between him and God. Such ceremonies were unto them as an ABC, to learn to spell and read; and as a nurse, to feed them with milk and pap, and to speak unto them after their own capacity, and to lisp the words unto them, according as the babes and children of that age might sound them again. For all that were before Christ were in the infancy and childhood of the world, and saw that sun which we see openly, but through a cloud, and had but feeble and weak imaginations of Christ, as children have of men's deeds, a few prophets except, which yet described him unto other in sacrifices and ceremonies, likenesses, riddles, proverbs, and dark and strange speaking, until the full age were come, that God would shew him openly unto the whole world, and deliver them from their shadows and cloud-light, and the heathen out of their dead sleep of stark blind ignorance. And as the shadow vanisheth away at the coming of the light, even so do the ceremonies and sacrifices at the coming of Christ; and are henceforth no more necessary than a token left in remembrance of a bargain, is necessary when the bargain is

Man's wisdom is plain idolatry, it scattereth, divideth, and maketh sects.

Ceremonies to the Israelites and Jews were as good schoolmasters are to young scholars.

All things were first revealed in ceremonies and shadows, until it pleased Almighty God to reveal his Son Jesus Christ.

fulfilled. And though they seem plain childish, yet they be not altogether fruitless; as the puppets, and twenty manner of trifles, which mothers permit unto their young children, be not all in vain. For albeit that such fantasies be permitted to satisfy the children's lusts, yet in that they are the mother's gift, and be done in place and time at her commandment, they keep the children in awe, and make them know the mother, and also make them more apt against a more stronger age to obey in things of greater earnest.

Small and little gifts given by the parents to their children, causeth love and obedience.

And moreover, though sacrifices and ceremonies can be no ground or foundation to build upon; that is, though we can prove nought with them; yet when we have once found out Christ and his mysteries, then we may borrow figures, that is to say allegories, similitudes, or examples to open Christ, and the secrets of God hid in Christ, even unto the quick, and to declare them more lively and sensibly with them than with all the words of the world. For similitudes have more virtue and power with them than bare words, and lead a man's wits farther into the pith and marrow and spiritual understanding of the thing, than all the words that can be imagined. And though also that all the ceremonies and sacrifices have, as it were, a starlight of Christ, yet some there be that have, as it were, the light of the broad day, a little before the sun rising, and express him, and the circumstances and virtue of his death so plainly, as if we should play his passion on a scaffold, or in a stage play, openly before the eyes of the people: as the scape goat, the brazen serpent, the ox burnt without the host, the passover lamb, &c. Insomuch that I am fully persuaded, and cannot but believe that God had shewed Moses the secrets of Christ, and the very manner of his death before hand, and commanded him to ordain them for the confirmation of our faith, which are now in the clear day light. And I believe also that the prophets, which followed Moses to confirm his prophecies, and to maintain his doctrine unto Christ's coming, were moved by

Sacrifices and ceremonies serve for allegories to find out Christ.

Similitudes prove nothing, but do more plainly lead thee to understand the text.

Some ceremonies contain wholesome and profitable doctrine.

Ceremonies ordained to confirm our faith.

such things to search farther of Christ's secrets. And though God would not have the secrets of Christ generally known, save unto a few familiar friends, which in that infancy he made of man's wit to help the other babes; yet as they had a general promise that one of the seed of Abraham should come and bless them, even so they had a general faith that God would by the same man save them, though they wist not by what means; as the very apostles, when it was oft told them, yet they could never comprehend it, till it was fulfilled in deed.

God's secrets were opened but to a few.

And beyond all this, their sacrifices and ceremonies, as far forth as the promises annexed unto them extend, so far forth they saved them and justified them, and stood them in the same stead as our Sacraments do us; not by the power of the sacrifice or deed itself, but by the virtue of the faith in the promise, which the sacrifice or ceremony preached, and whereof it was a token or sign. For the ceremonies and sacrifices were left with them, and commanded them to keep the promise in remembrance, and to wake up their faith. As it is not enough to send many on errands, and to tell them what they shall do; but they must have a remembrance with them, and it be but a ring of a rush about one of their fingers. And as it is not enough to make a bargain with words only, but we must put thereto an oath, and give earnest to confirm the faith of the person with whom it is made. And in like manner if a man promise, whatsoever trifle it be, it is not believed except he hold up his finger also; such is the weakness of the world. And therefore Christ himself used oftentimes divers ceremonies in curing the sick, to stir up their faith withal. As for an ensample: it was not the blood of the Lamb that saved them in Egypt, when the angel smote the Egyptians; but the mercy of God, and his truth, whereof that blood was a token and remembrance, to stir up their faiths withal. For though God make a promise, yet it saveth none finally, but them that long for it, and pray God with a strong faith to fulfil

The ceremonies of themselves saved not, but faith in God's promise.

Our nature is so weak, that we must be holpen by outward signs and tokens.

No man is holpen by God's promises but sinners that feel their sin.

it, for his mercy and truth only, and knowledge their unworthiness. And even so our Sacraments (if they be truly ministered) preach Christ unto us, and lead our faiths unto Christ; by which faith our sins are done away, and not by the deed or work of the Sacrament. For as it was impossible that the blood of calves should put away sin; even so is it impossible that the water of the river should wash our hearts. Nevertheless, the Sacraments cleanse us, and absolve us of our sins as the priests do, in preaching of repentance and faith, for which cause either of them were ordained; but if they preach not, whether it be the priest or the Sacrament, so profit they not.

Sacraments truly ministered are profitable.

Sacraments truly ministered, preach unto us repentance of our sins.

And if a man allege Christ, John in the 3d chapter, saying, "Except a man be born again of water and of the Holy Ghost, he cannot see the kingdom of God," and will therefore that the Holy Ghost be present in the water, and therefore the very deed or work doth put away sin; then I will send him unto Paul, which asketh his Galatians, whether they received the Holy Ghost by the deed of the law, or by preaching of faith; and there concludeth that the Holy Ghost accompanieth the preaching of faith, and with the word of faith entereth the heart and purgeth it; which thou mayest also understand by St. Paul saying, "Ye are borne anew out of the water through the word." So now if baptism preach me the washing in Christ's blood, so doth the Holy Ghost accompany it; and that deed of preaching, through faith, doth put away my sins. For the Holy Ghost is no dumb God, nor no God that goeth a mumming. If a man say of the Sacrament of Christ's body and blood, that it is a sacrifice as well for the dead as for the quick, and therefore the very deed itself justifieth and putteth away sin; I answer, that a sacrifice is the slaying of the body of a beast, or a man: wherefore, if it be a sacrifice, then is Christ's body there slain, and his blood there shed; but that is not so. And therefore it is properly no sacrifice, but a sacrament, and a memorial of that everlasting

Not naked or dumb ceremonies, but the Holy Ghost, through faith, washeth away sins.

The difference between a sacrifice and a sacrament.

sacrifice once for all, which he offered upon the cross now upon a fifteen hundred years ago, and preacheth only unto them that are alive. And as for them that be dead, it is as profitable unto them as is a candle in a lanthern without light unto them that walk by the way in dark night; and as the gospel song in Latin is unto them that understand none at all, and as a sermon preached to him that is dead, and heareth it not. It preacheth unto them that are alive only; for they that be dead, if they died in the faith which that Sacrament preacheth, they be safe, and are past all jeopardy. For when they were alive their hearts loved the law of God, and therefore sinned not, and were sorry that their members sinned, and ever moved to sin, and therefore, through faith, it was forgiven them. And now their sinful members be dead, so that they can now sin no more; wherefore it is unto them that be dead neither Sacrament nor sacrifice. But under the pretence of their soul-health, it is a servant unto our spiritualties holy covetousness, and an extortioner, and a builder of abbeys, colleges, chauntries and cathedral churches with false gotten good, a pickpurse, a polar, and a bottomless bag.

What state we die in, the same we shall rise again, either of salvationor damnation.

The Sacraments are unto the dead no sacraments at all.

Sacraments abused by the clergy.

Some man would haply say, that the prayers of the mass help much; not the living only, but also the dead. Of the hot fire of their fervent prayer, which consumeth faster than all the world is able to bring sacrifice, I have said sufficiently in other places. Howbeit it is not possible to bring me in belief, that the prayer which helpeth her own master unto no virtue should purchase me the forgiveness of sins. If I saw that their prayers had obtained them grace to live such a life as God's word did not rebuke, then could I soon be borne in hand that whatsoever they asked God, their prayers should not be in vain. But now what good can he wish me in his prayers, that envieth me Christ, the food and the life of my soul? What good can he wish me, whose heart cleaveth asunder for pain, when I am taught to repent of my evil?

The Papists have no small friend and good helper of the mass.

Hypocrites' prayers can neither profit themselves nor any man else.

Those that are enemies to the word of God, love neither God nor his people.

Farthermore, because that few know the use of the Old Testament, and the most part think it nothing necessary but to make allegories, which they fain every man after his own brain at all wild adventure, without any certain rule; therefore (though I have spoken of them in another place,) yet, lest the book come not to all men's hands that shall read this, I will speak of them here also a word or twain.

Allegories are to be well weighed and considered

We had need to take heed every where that we be not beguiled with false allegories, whether they be drawn out of the New Testament or the Old, either out of any other story, or of the creatures of the world, but namely in this book. Here a man had need to put on all his spectacles, and to arm himself against invisible spirits.

The greatest cause of the decay of faith and blindness that we were in was through allegories.

First, allegories prove nothing; (and by allegories understand examples or similitudes borrowed of strange matters, and of another thing than thou entreatest of.)

How allegories are to be understood.

As though circumcision be a figure of baptism, yet thou canst not prove baptism by circumcision. For this argument were very feeble; the Israelites were circumcised, therefore we must be baptised. And in like manner, though the offering of Isaac were a figure or ensample of the resurrection, yet is this argument nought: Abraham would have offered Isaac, but God delivered him from death, therefore we shall rise again, and so forth in all other.

The right use of allegories.

But the very use of allegories is to declare and open a text, that it may be the better perceived and understood. As when I have a clear text of Christ and the apostles, that I must be baptised, then I may borrow an example of circumcision to express the nature, power, and fruit, or effect of baptism. For as circumcision was unto them a common badge, signifying that they were all soldiers of God, to war his war, and separating them from all other nations, disobedient unto God: even so baptism is our common badge, and sure earnest and perpetual memorial that we pertain unto Christ, and are separated from all that are not Christ's. And as circumcision was

Baptism is the common badge of all true professors of Christ.

a token certifying them that they were received uto the favour of God, and their sins forgiven them; even so baptism certifieth us that we are washed in the blood of Christ, and received to favour for his sake; and as circumcision signified unto them the cutting away of their own lusts, and slaying of their free-will, as they call it, to follow the will of God, even so baptism signifieth unto us repentance, and the mortifying of our unruly members and body of sin, to walk in a new life, and so forth.

Baptism teacheth us repentance of sin.

And likewise, though that the saving of Noah, and of them that were with him in the ship, through water, is a figure, that is to say an example and likeness of baptism, as Peter maketh it, (1 Pet. iii.) yet I cannot prove baptism therewith, save describe it only. For as the ship saved them in the water through faith, in that they believed God, and as the other that would not believe Noah perished; even so baptism saveth us through the word of faith which it preacheth, when all the world of the unbelieving perish. And Paul (1 Cor. x.) maketh the sea and the cloud a figure of baptism, by which, and a thousand more, I might declare it, but not prove it. Paul also, in the said place, maketh the rock out of which Moses brought water unto the children of Israel, a figure or ensample of Christ; not to prove Christ (for that were impossible,) but to describe Christ only; even as Christ himself (John iii.) borroweth a similitude or figure of the brazen serpent, to lead Nicodemus from his earthly imagination into the spiritual understanding of Christ's saying: "As Moses lifted up a serpent in the wilderness, so must the son of man be lifted up, that none that believe in him perish, but have everlasting life." By which similitude, the virtue of Christ's death is better described than thou couldest declare it with a thousand words. For as those murmurers against God, as soon as they repented, were healed of their deadly wounds, through looking on the brazen serpent only, without medicine or any other help, yea, and without any other reason but that

The bare washing helpeth not, but through the word of faith it purifieth us.

How Christ borroweth figures of the Old Testament, to make plain the texts of the New Testament.

God hath said it should be so, and not to murmur again, but to leave their murmuring: even so all that repent, and believe in Christ, are saved from everlasting death, of pure grace, without, and before, their good works, and not to sin again, but to fight against sin, and henceforth to sin no more.

Even so with the ceremonies of this book thou canst prove nothing, save describe, and declare only the putting away of our sins through the death of Christ. For Christ is Aaron and Aaron's sons, and all that offer the sacrifice to purge sin. And Christ is all manner [of] offering that is offered: he is the ox, the sheep, the goat, the kid, and lamb: he is the ox that is burnt without the host, and the scape-goat that carried all the sin of the people away into the wilderness: for as they purged the people from their worldly uncleannesses through blood of the sacrifices, even so doth Christ purge us from the uncleannesses of everlasting death with his own blood, and as their worldly sins could no otherwise be purged than by blood of sacrifices, even so can our sins be no otherwise forgiven than through the blood of Christ. All the deeds in the world, save the blood of Christ, can purchase no forgiveness of sins; for our deeds do but help our neighbour, and mortify the flesh, and help that we sin no more; but and if we have sinned, it must be freely forgiven through the blood of Christ, or remain ever.

Our duty is to do good deeds, but salvation we cannot challenge thereby.

And in like manner of the lepers thou canst prove nothing: thou canst never conjure out confession thence, howbeit thou hast an handsome example there to to open the binding and loosing of our priests with the key of God's word; for as they made no man a leper, even so ours have no power to command any man to be in sin, or to go to purgatory or hell. And therefore (inasmuch as binding and loosing is one power,) as those priests healed no man, even so ours cannot of their invisible and dumb power drive any man's sins away, or deliver him from hell, or feigned purgatory. Howbeit if they preached God's word purely, which is the authority that Christ gave

A good example taken of the lepers.

The true preaching of God's word doth bind and lose consciences.

them, then they should bind and loose, kill and make alive again, make unclean and clean again, and send to hell and fetch thence again, so mighty is God's word. For if they preached the law of God, they should bind the consciences of sinners with the bonds of the pains of hell, and bring them unto repentance. And then if they preached unto them the mercy that is in Christ, they should loose them and quiet their raging consciences, and certify them of the favour of God, and that their sins be forgiven.

In allegories is both honey and gall; that is to say, both good and evil.

Finally, beware of allegories; for there is not a more handsome or apt thing to beguile withal than an allegory; nor a more subtle and pestilent thing in the world to persuade a false matter than an allegory. And contrariwise; there is not a better, vehementer, or mightier thing to make a man understand withal than an allegory. For allegories make a man quick witted, and print wisdom in him; and maketh it to abide, where bare words go but in at the one ear, and out at the other. As this, with such like sayings: "Put salt to all your sacrifices;" instead of this sentence, "Do all your deeds with discretion," greeteth and biteth, (if it be understood) more than plain words. And when I say, instead of these words, "Boast not yourself of your good deeds," "eat not the blood, nor the fat of your sacrifice;" there is as great difference between them as there is distance between heaven and earth. For the life and beauty of all good deeds is of God, and we are but the carrion-lean, we are only the instrument whereby God worketh only, but the power is his. As God created Paul anew, poured his wisdom into him, gave him might, and promised him that his grace should never fail him, &c. and all without deservings, except that nurtering the saints, and making them curse and rail on Christ, be meritorious. Now, as it is death to eat the blood or fat of any sacrifice, is it not (think ye,) damnable to rob God of his honour, and to glorify myself with his honour?

All good deeds are God's workmanship, and we his instruments whereby he doth them.

AN EXPOSITION

OF CERTAIN WORDS OF THE FOURTH BOOK OF MOSES CALLED NUMERI.

AVIMS. A kind of giants; and the word signifieth crooked, unright, or wicked.

BELIAL. Wicked, or wickedness; he that hath cast the yoke of God off his neck, and will not obey God.

BRUTERER. Prophesiers, or soothsayers.

EMIMS. A kind of giants so called, because they were terrible and cruel; for *Emin* signifieth terribleness.

ENACKE. A kind of giants, so called haply because they wore chains about their necks; for enach is such a chain as men wear about their necks.

HORIMS. A kind of giants, and signifieth noble; because that of pride they called themselves nobles, or gentles.

ROCK. God is called a rock, because both he and his word lasteth for ever.

WHET THEM ON THY CHILDREN. That is, exercise thy children in them, and put them in use.

ZAMZUMIMS. A kind of giants; and signifieth mischievous, or that be always imagining.

THE PROLOGUE

INTO THE FOURTH BOOK OF MOSES CALLED NUMERI.

IN the second and third book they received the law; and in this fourth they begin to work and to practise. Of which practising ye see many good ensamples of unbelief, and what free will doth, when she taketh in hand to keep the law of her own power, without help of faith in the promises of God: how she leaveth her master's carcasses by the way in the wilderness, and bringeth them not into the land of rest. Why could they not enter in? Because of their unbelief. (Heb. iii.) For had they believed, so had they been under grace, and their old sins had been forgiven them; and power should have been given them to have fulfilled the law thenceforth, and they should have been kept from all temptations that had been too strong for them. For it is written, (John i.) "He gave them power to be the sons of God, through believing in his name." Now to be the son of God is to love God and his commandments, and to walk in his way after the ensample of his Son Christ. But these people took upon them to work without faith, as thou seest in the xivth of this book, where they would fight, and also did, without the word of promise; even when they were warned that they should not. And in the xvith again, they would please God with their holy, faithless works (for where God's word is not there can be no faith,) but the fire of God consumed their holy works, as it did Nadab and Abihu. (Levit. x.) And from these unbelievers turn thine eyes unto the Pharisees, which before the coming of Christ in his flesh had laid the foundation of free-will after the same ensample. Whereon they built holy works after their own imagination, without

Free-will and unbelief were the overthrow of our forefathers.

Then cannot they be the children of God, which put more trust in their own works than in the blood of Jesus Christ.

Faithless works.

faith of the word, so fervently, that for the great zeal of them, they slew the king of all holy works, and the Lord of freewill, which only through his grace maketh the will free, and looseth her from bondage of sin, and giveth her love and lust unto the laws of God, and power to fulfil them. And so through their holy works done by the power of freewill, they excluded themselves out of the holy rest of forgiveness of sins by faith in the blood of Christ.

The Pharisees, by their freewill, excluded themselves from the salvation in Christ.

And then look on our hypocrites, which in like manner following the doctrine of Aristotle, and other heathen pagans, have against all the Scripture set up freewill again, unto whose power they ascribe the keeping of the commandments of God. For they have set up wilful poverty of another manner than any is commanded of God. And the chastity of matrimony utterly defied, they have set up another wilful chastity not required of God, which they swear, vow, and profess to give God, whether he will give it them or no, and compel all their disciples thereunto, saying that it is in the power of every man's freewill to observe it, contrary to Christ and his apostle Paul.

Blasphemy to Christ's death.

And the obedience of God and man excluded, they have vowed another wilful obedience condemned of all the Scripture, which they will yet give God whether he will or will not.

O subtle foxes, through poverty made themselves lords of all.

And what is become of their wilful poverty? hath it not robbed the whole world, and brought all under them? Can there be either king, or emperor, or of whatsoever degree it be, except he will hold of them, and be sworn unto them to be their servant, to go and come at their lust, and to defend their quarrels be they false or true. Their wilful poverty hath already eaten up the whole world, and is yet still greedier then ever it was, in so much that ten worlds more were not enough to satisfy the hunger thereof.

Moreover besides daily corrupting of other men's wives and open whoredom, unto what abominations, too filthy to be spoken of, hath their voluntary chastity brought them?

Wilful chastity is wilful wickedness.

And as for their wilful obedience, what is it but the disobedience and the defiance both of all the laws of God and man; insomuch that if any prince begin to execute any law of man upon them, they curse him unto the bottom of hell, and proclaim him no right king, and that his lords ought no longer to obey him, and interdict his common people as they were heathen Turks or Saracens. And if any man preach them God's law, him they make an heretic and burn him to ashes. And instead of God's law and man's, they have set up one of their own imagination, which they observe with dispensations.

The Papists wilful obedience is common disobedience to all princes.

Our righteousness cometh not by our merits, but through faith, by the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

And yet in these works they have so great confidence that they not only trust to be saved thereby, and to be higher in heaven than they that be saved through Christ, but also promise to all other forgiveness of their sins, through the merits of the same; wherein they rest, and teach others to rest also, excluding the whole world from the rest of forgiveness of sins through faith in Christ's blood.

Faith only bringeth us to Christ, and unbelief bringeth us from Christ.

And now seeing that faith only letteth a man in unto rest, and unbelief excludeth him, what is the cause of this unbelief? verily no sin that the world seeth, but a pope-holiness, and a righteousness of their own imagination, as Paul saith, Rom. x. They be ignorant of the righteousness wherewith God justifieth, and have set up a righteousness of their own making, through which they be disobedient unto the righteousness of God. And Christ rebuketh not the Pharisees for gross sins which the world saw, but for those holy deeds which so bleared the eyes of the world, that they were taken as Gods; even for long prayers, for fasting, for tithing so diligently that they left not so much as their herbs untythed, for their cleanness in washing before meat, and for washing of cups, dishes, and all manner [of] vessels, for building the prophets' sepulchres, and for keeping the holy day, and for turning the heathen unto the faith, and for giving of alms. For unto such holy deeds they ascribed righteousness, and

Christ rebuked the Pharisees for their holy and hypocritical deeds.

The Pharisees ascribe righteousness to works, and therefore were condemned of Christ.

therefore when the righteousness of God was preached unto them they could not but persecute it, the devil was so strong in them: which thing Christ well describeth, (Luke xi.) saying, "That after the devil is cast out, he cometh again, and findeth his house swept, and made gay, and then taketh seven worse than himself and dwelleth therein, and so is the end of that man worse than the beginning." That is, when they be a little cleansed from gross sins which the world seeth, and then made gay in their own sight, with the righteousness of traditions, then cometh seven, that is to say the whole power of the devil: for seven with the Hebrews signifieth a multitude without number, and the extremity of a thing, and is a speech borrowed (I suppose) out of Leviticus, where is so oft mention made of seven. Where I would say, I will punish thee, that all the world shall take an ensample of thee; there the Jew would say, "I will circumcise thee or baptize thee seven times." And so here by seven is meant all the devils of hell, and all the might and power of the devil. For unto what further blindness could all the devils in hell bring them, than to make them believe that they were justified through their own good works? For when they once believed that they were purged from their sins, and made righteous through their own holy works, what room was there left for the righteousness that is in Christ's bloodshedding? And therefore when they be fallen into this blindness, they cannot but hate and persecute the light. And the more clear and evidently their deeds be rebuked, the furiouser and maliciouser blind are they, until they break out into open blasphemy and sinning against the Holy Ghost, which is the malicious persecuting of the clear truth so manifestly proved, that they cannot once hish against it. As the Pharisees persecuted Christ, because he rebuked their holy deeds. And when he proved his doctrine with the Scripture and miracles yet though they could not improve him, nor reason against him, they taught that the Scripture must have some other

The justifying of ourselves, maketh the devil more busy than he would be.

What is meant in the Scripture by this word seven times.

Merit-mongers the more their blindness is rebuked, the more they rebel against Christ and his gospel.

The doctrine of the Pharisees, and the doctrine of our Papists so well agree.

meaning, because his interpretation undermined their foundation, and plucked up by the roots the sects which they had planted, and they ascribed also his miracles to the devil. And in like manner though our hypocrites cannot deny but this is the Scripture, yet because there can be no other sense gathered thereof, but that overthroweth their buildings, therefore they ever think that it hath some other meaning than as the words sound, and that no man understandeth it, or understood it since the time of the apostles. Or if they think that some that wrote upon it since the apostles understood it, they yet think that we in like manner as we understand not the text itself, so we understand not the meaning of the words of that Doctor. For when thou layest the justifying of holy works, and denyest the justifying of faith, how canst thou understand St. Paul, Peter, John and the Acts of the Apostles, or any Scripture at all, seeing the justifying of faith is almost all that they intend to prove?

The Papists cannot away with justification by faith.

Finally, concerning vows, whereof thou readest in the xxxth chapter, there may be many questions, whereunto I answer shortly, that we ought to put salt to all our offerings; that is, we ought to minister knowledge in all our works, and to do nothing whereof we could not give a reason out of God's words. We be now in the daylight, and all the secrets of God, and all his counsel and will is opened unto us, and He that was promised should come and bless us, is come already, and hath shed his blood for us, and hath blessed us with all manner [of] blessings, and hath obtained all grace for us, and in him we have all. Wherefore God henceforth will receive no more sacrifices of beasts of us as thou readest, Heb. x. If thou burn unto God the blood or fat of beasts, to obtain forgiveness of sins thereby, or that God should the better hear thy request, then thou dost wrong unto the blood of Christ, and Christ unto thee is dead in vain. For in him God hath promised not forgiveness of sins only, but also whatsoever we ask to keep us from sin and temptation withal.

Of vows.

God accepteth for us none other sacrifice but only Jesus Christ his Son.

All holiness in our own imagination is a robbing of Christ's honour.

And what if thou burn frankincence unto him, what if thou burn a candle, what if thou burn thy chastity, or virginity unto him for the same purpose, dost thou not like rebuke unto Christ's blood? Moreover, if thou offer gold, silver, or any other good for the same intent, is there any difference? And even so if thou go in pilgrimage, or fastest, or goest woolward, or sprinklest thyself with holy water, or else whatsoever deed it is, or observest whatsoever ceremony it be, for like meaning, then it is like abomination. We must therefore bring the salt of the knowledge of God's word with all our sacrifices, or else we shall make no sweet savour unto God thereof. Thou wilt ask me, shall I vow nothing at all? yes, God's commandment which thou hast vowed in thy baptism. For what intent? verily for the love of Christ which hath bought thee with his blood, and made thee son and heir of God with him, that thou shouldest wait on his will and commandments, and purify thy members according to the same doctrine that hath purified thine heart; for if the knowledge of God's word hath not purified thine heart so that thou consentest unto the law of God that it is righteous and good, and sorrowest that thy members move thee unto the contrary, so hast thou no part with Christ. For

Faith followeth repentance of sin.

if thou repent not of thy sin, so it is impossible that thou shouldest believe that Christ had delivered thee from the danger thereof. If thou believe not that Christ hath delivered thee, so is it impossible that thou shouldest love God's commandments. If thou love not the commandments, so is Christ's spirit not in thee, which is the earnest of forgiveness of sin, and of salvation.

Repentance goeth before faith, and prepareth the way unto Christ.

For Scripture teacheth, first repentance, then faith in Christ, that for his sake sin is forgiven to them that repent; then good works, which are nothing save the commandment of God only. And the commandments are nothing else, save the helping of our neighbours at their need, and the taming of our members, that they might be pure also, as the heart is pure through hate of vice and love of virtue, as

God's word teacheth us, which works must proceed out of the faith: that is, I must do them for the love which I have to God, for that great mercy which he hath shewed me in Christ, or else I do them not in the sight of God. And that I faint not in the pain of the slaying of the sin that is in my flesh, mine help is the promise of the assistance of the power of God, and the comfort of the reward to come, which reward I ascribe unto the goodness, mercy, and truth, of the Promiser that hath chosen me, called me, taught me, and given me the earnest thereof, and not unto the merits of my doings, or sufferings. For all that I do and suffer is but the way to the reward, and not the deserving thereof. As if the king's grace should promise me to defend me at home in mine own realm, yet the way thither is through the sea, wherein I might haply suffer no little trouble. And yet for all that, if I might live in rest when I come thither, I would think, and so would others say, that my pains were well rewarded; which reward and benefit I would not proudly ascribe unto the merits of my pains taken by the way, but unto the goodness, mercifulness, and constant truth of the king's grace whose gift it is, and to whom the praise and thanks thereof belongeth of duty and right. So now a reward is a gift given freely of the goodness of the giver, and not of the deservings of the receiver. Thus it appeareth, that if I vow whatsoever it be, for any other purpose than to tame my members, and to be an ensample of virtue and edifying unto my neighbour, my sacrifice is unsavoury, and clean without salt, and my lamp without oil, and I one of the foolish virgins, and shall be shut from the feast of the bridegroom when I think myself most sure to enter in.

If I vow voluntary poverty, this must be my purpose, that I will be content with a competent living, which cometh unto me either by succession of mine elders, or which I get truly with my labour in ministring, and doing service unto the commonwealth, in one office or in another, or in one occupation or other, because that riches and honour

How our works are good in the sight of God.

The work saveth not but the word, that is to say the promise.

An apt similitude for reward of good works.

All vows must be made for the mortifying or taming of our members, or the edifying of our neighbours, or else they are wicked.

How we ought to vow wilful poverty.

shall not corrupt my mind, and draw mine heart from God, and to give an example of virtue and edifying unto other, and that my neighbour may have a living by me as well as I. If I make a cloak of dissimulation of my vow, laying a net of feigned beggary to catch superfluous abundance of riches, and high degree and authority, and through the estimation of false holiness, to feed and maintain my slothful idleness with the sweat, labour, lands, and rents of other men (after the example of our spirituality) robbing them of their faiths, and God of his honour; turning unto mine hypocrisy that confidence, which should be given unto the promises of God only, am I not a wily fox, and a ravening wolf in a lamb's skin, and a painted sepulchre fair without and filthy within? In like manner though I seek no worldly promotion thereby, yet if I do it to be justified therewith, and to get an higher place in heaven, thinking that I do it of my own natural strength, and of the natural power of my freewill, and that every man hath might even so to do, and that they do it not is their fault and negligence, and so with the proud Pharisee in comparison of myself despise the sinful Publicans; what other thing, do I than eat the blood and fat of my sacrifice, devouring that myself which should be offered unto God alone, and his Christ? And shortly, whatsoever a man doth of his natural gifts, of his natural wit, wisdom, understanding, reason, will, and good intent, before he be otherwise and clean contrary taught of God's Spirit, and have received other wit, understanding, reason and will; is flesh, worldly and wrought in abominable blindness, with which a man can but seek himself, his own profit, glory and honour, even in very spiritual matters. As if I were alone in a wilderness, where no man were to seek profit or praise of, yet, if I would seek heaven of God there, I could of mine own natural gifts seek it no other ways then for the merits and deservings of my good works, and to enter therein by another way than by the door Christ, which were very theft, for Christ is Lord over all, and whatsoever any man will

Whether fished the Pope's prelates with this net or no?

Our works do not stand in the wisdom of man but in the power of God.

have of God, he must have it given him freely for Christ's sake. Now to have heaven for mine own deserving, is mine own praise and not Christ's; for I cannot have it by favour and grace in Christ, and by mine own merits also; for free giving and deserving cannot stand together.

Desert, and free gift are contraries.

If thou wilt vow of thy goods unto God, thou must put salt unto this sacrifice; that is, thou must minister knowledge in this deed as Peter teacheth, 2 Pet. 1. Thou must put oil of God's word in thy lamp, and do it according to knowledge, if thou wait for the coming of the bridegroom to enter in with him into his rest. But thou peradventure wilt hang it about the image to move men to devotion. Devotion is a fervent love unto God's commandments, and a desire to be with God and with his everlasting promises. Now shall the sight of such riches as are shewed at St. Thomas's shrine, or at Walsingham, move a man to love the commandments of God better, and to desire to be loosed from his flesh and to be with God; or shall it not rather make his poor heart sigh, because he hath no such at home, and to wish part of it in another place? The priest shall have it in God's stead. Shall the priest have it? if the priest be bought with Christ's blood, then he is Christ's servant and not his own, and ought therefore to feed Christ's flock with Christ's doctrine, and to minister Christ's sacraments unto them purely for very love, and not for filthy lucre's sake, or to be Lord over them as Peter teacheth, 1 Pet. v., and Paul, Acts xx. Beside this Christ is ours, and is a gift given us, and we be heirs of Christ and of all that is Christs. Wherefore the priests, doctrine is ours, and we heirs of it, it is the food of our souls. Therefore if he minister it not truly and freely unto us without selling, he is a thief, and a soul murderer: and even so is he if he take upon him to feed us, and have not wherewith. And for a like conclusion, because we also with all that we have, be Christ's, therefore is the priest heir with us also of all that we have received of God; wherefore inasmuch as the priest waiteth on the word of

The sight of riches, is rather a cause of covetousness than a mean to honour God.

Whether did the Papists so or no?

God, and is our servant therein, therefore of right we are his debtors, and owe him a sufficient living of our goods, aud even thereto a wife of our daughters owe we unto him if he require her. And now when we have appointed him a sufficient living, whether in tithes, rents, or in yearly wages, he ought to be content and to require no more, nor yet to receive any more, but to be an ensample of soberness and of despising worldly things unto the ensample of his parishioners.

Yet the spiritualities' pillage was more than their standing stipend.

Wilt thou vow to offer unto the poor people? that is pleasant in the sight of God, for they be left here to do our alms upon in Christ's stead, and they be the right heirs of all our abundance and overplus. Moreover we must have a school to teach God's word in (though it needeth not to be so costly) and therefore it is lawful to vow unto the building or maintenance thereof, and unto the helping of all good works. And we ought to vow to pay custom, toll, rent, and all manner [of] duties, and whatsoever we owe; for that is God's commandment.

A good vow is to keep God's commandments.

If thou wilt vow pilgrimage, thou must put salt thereto, in like manner, if it shall be accepted, if thou vow to go and visit the poor, or to hear God's word, or whatsoever edifieth thy soul unto love and good work after knowledge, or whatsoever God commandeth, it is well done, and a sacrifice that savoureth well, ye will haply say, that ye will go to this or that place, because God hath chosen one place more than an other, and will hear your petition more in one place than another. As for your prayer it must be according to God's word. Ye may not desire God to take vengeance on him whom God's word teacheth you to pity and to pray for. And as for the other gloss, that God will hear you more in one place then in an other, I suppose it *sal infatuatum*, salt unsavoury, for if it were wisdom, how could we excuse the death of Stephen, Acts 7. which died for that article that God dwelleth not in temples made with hands we that believe in God, are the temple of God. Saith Paul, "If a man love

How thou mayst lawfully go on pilgrimage.

God heareth all that call upon him in all times and at all places alike.

God, and keep his word, he is the temple of God, and hath God presently dwelling in him:" as witnesseth Christ John xivth, saying, "If a man love me, he will keep my word, and then my father will love him, and we will come unto him, and dwell with him. And in the xvth he saith, "If ye abide in me, and my words also abide in you, then ask what ye will and ye shall have it." If thou believe in Christ and hast the promises which God hath made thee in thine heart, then go on pilgrimage unto thine own heart, and there pray, and God will hear thee, for his mercy and truth's sake, and for his son Christ's sake, and not for a few stones' sake. What careth God for the temple? The very beasts, in that they have life in them, be much better then an heap of stones couched together.

God dwelleth not in temples made with man's hands.

God regardeth the heart, and not the place where we pray.

To speak of chastity: it is a gift not given unto all persons, as testifieth both Christ and also his apostle Paul, wherefore all persons may not vow it. Moreover there be causes wherefore many persons may better live chaste at one time than at another. Many may live chaste at twenty and thirty for certain cold diseases following them, which at forty, when their health is come, cannot do so. Many be occupied with wild fantasies in their youth that they care not for marriage, which some when they be waxen sad shall be greatly desirous: it is a dangerous thing to make sin where none is, and to forswear the benefit of God and to bind thyself under pain of damnation of thy soul, that thou wouldest not use the remedy that God hath created, if need required.

Wilful chastity is not meet for all persons to vow.

Another thing is this, beware that thou get thee not a false feigned chastity made with the ungodly persuasions of St. Jerom, or of Ovid in his filthy book of the remedy against love, lest when through such imaginations thou hast utterly despised, defied and abhorred all womankind, thou come into such case through the fierce wrath of God, that thou canst neither live chaste, nor find in thy heart to marry, and so be compelled to fall into the abomination of the Pope against nature and kind.

False feigned chastity.

The Pope restrained that which God permitted, and setteth at liberty that which God forbideth.

Moreover, God is a wise father, and knoweth all the infirmities of his children, and also merciful, and therefore hath created a remedy without sin, and given thereto his favour and blessing. Let us not be wiser than God with our imaginations, nor tempt him; for as godly chastity is not every man's gift, even so he that hath it to day, hath not power to continue it at his own pleasure, neither hath God promised to give it him still, and to cure his infirmities without his natural remedy, no more than he hath promised to slake his hunger without meat, or thirst without drink. Wherefore either let all things bide free as God hath created them, and neither vow that which God permitted thee with his favour and blessing also; or else if thou wilt needs vow, then vow godly and under a condition, that thou wilt continue chaste so long as God giveth thee that gift, and as long as neither thine own necessity, neither charity toward thy neighbour, nor the authority of them under whose power thou art, drive thee unto the contrary.

A good admonition to such as will make vows.

Whereunto and how we should apply our vows,

The purpose of thy vow must be salted also with the wisdom of God. Thou mayst not vow to be justified thereby, or to make satisfaction for thy sins, or to win heaven or an higher place; for then didst thou wrong unto the blood of Christ, and thy vow were plain idolatry and abominable in the sight of God. Thy vow must be only unto the furtherance of the commandments of God, which are (as I have said) nothing but the taming of thy members, and the service of thy neighbour; that is, if thou think thy back too weak for the burthen of wedlock, and that thou canst not rule thy wife, children, servants and make provision for them godly, and without overmuch busying and unquieting thyself, and drowning thyself in worldly business unchristianly, or that thou canst serve thy neighbour in some office better being chaste than married. And then thy vow is good and lawful. And even so must thou vow abstinence of meats and drinks so far forth as it is profitable unto thy neighbours, and unto the taming of thy flesh; but thou mayst vow neither of them unto

How a vow is to be made.

He that fasteth to any other end than to tame his body that it may wait upon God, deceiveth himself.

the slaying of thy body. As Paul commandeth Timothy to drink wine, and no more water, because of his diseases. Thou wilt say that Timothy had not haply forsworn wine. I think the same, and that the apostles forsware not wedlock, though many of them lived chaste; neither yet any meat or drink, though they abstained from them, and that it were good for us to follow their example. Howbeit though I vow and swear and think on none exception, yet is the breaking of God's commandments except, and all chances that hang of God. As if I swear to be in a certain place at a certain hour, to make a loveday without exception, yet if the king in the meantime command me another way, I must go by God's commandment, and yet break not mine oath. And in like case if my father and mother be sick and require my presence, or if my wife, children, or household be visited that my assistance be required, or if my neighbour's house be a fire at the same hour, and a thousand such chances; in which all I break mine oath, and am not forsworn and so forth. Read God's word diligently and with a good heart, and it shall teach thee all things.

All our doings must tend to the honour of God, and love of our neighbour.

A PROLOGUE

INTO THE FIFTH BOOK OF MOSES CALLED DEUTERONOMY.

THIS is a book worthy to be read in, day and night, and never to be out of hands. For it is the most excellent of all the books of Moses. It is easy also and light, and a very pure Gospel, that is to wit, a preaching of faith and love: deducing the love to God out of faith, and the

This book is a preaching of faith and love.

love of a man's neighbour out of the love of God. Herein also thou mayest learn right meditation or contemplation, which is nothing else save the calling to mind, and a repeating in the heart, of the glorious and wonderful deeds of God, and of his terrible handling of his enemies and merciful entreating of them that come when he calleth them, which thing this book doth, and almost nothing else.

Here thou mayest learn a right meditation or contemplation.

In the four first chapters he rehearseth the benefits of God done unto them, to provoke them to love, and his mighty deeds done above all natural power, and beyond all natural capacity of faith, that they might believe God, and trust in him, and in his strength. And thirdly he rehearseth the fierce plagues of God upon his enemies, and on them which through impatience and unbelief fell from him; partly to tame and abate the appetites of the flesh which alway fight against the Spirit, and partly to bridle the wide raging lusts of them in whom was no Spirit; that though they had no power to do good of love, yet at the least way, they should abstain from outward evil for fear of wrath, and cruel vengeance which should fall upon them and shortly find them out, if they cast up God's nurture and run at riot beyond his laws and ordinances.

The works of God are supernatural.

We must abstain from outward evil though not for love, yet for fear of the vengeance of God.

Moreover he chargeth them to put nought to, nor take ought away from God's words, but to be diligent only to keep them in remembrance, and in the heart, and to teach their children for fear of forgetting. And to beware either of making imagery, or of bowing themselves unto images, saying, Ye saw no image when God spake unto you, but heard a voice only, and that voice keep, and thereunto cleave, for it is your life and it shall save you. And finally if (as the frailty of all flesh is) they shall have fallen from God, and he have brought them into trouble, adversity, and cumbrance and all necessity; yet if they repent and turn, he promiseth them, that God shall remember his mercy, and receive them to grace again.

Unto the law of God we may not add nor diminish.

We are commanded to abstain from images.

God is merciful to them that repent.

In the fifth he repeateth the ten commandments, and

that they might see a cause to do them of love, he biddeth them remember that they were bound in Egypt, and how God delivered them with a mighty hand, and a stretched out arm, to serve him, and to keep his commandments: as Paul saith that we are bought with Christ's blood, and therefore are his servants, and not our own, and ought to seek his will and honour only, and to love and serve one another for his sake.

Christ hath delivered us and therefore we ought to serve him and our neighbour for his sake.

In the sixth he setteth out the fountain of all commandments: that is, that they believe how that there is but one God that doth all, and therefore ought only to be loved with all the heart, all the soul, and all the might. For love only is the fulfilling of the commandments, as Paul also saith unto the Romans, and Galatians likewise. He warneth them also that they forget not the commandments, but teach them their children, and to shew their children also how God delivered them out of the bondage of the Egyptians, to serve him and his commandments, that the children might see a cause to work of love likewise.

Love only is the fulfilling of the laws of God.

The seventh is altogether of faith: he removeth all occasions that might withdraw them from the faith, and pulleth them also from all confidence in themselves, and stirreth them up to trust in God boldly and only.

We must trust only in God and not in ourselves.

Of the eighth Chapter thou seest how that the cause of temptation is, that a man might see his own heart. For when I am brought into that extremity, that I must either suffer or forsake God, then I shall feel how much I believe and trust in him, and how much I love him. In like manner if my brother do me evil for my good, then if I love him when there is no cause in him, I see that my love was of God, and even so if I then hate him, I feel and perceive that my love was but worldly, and finally he stirreth them to the faith and love of God, and driveth them from all confidence of their own selves.

How a man may try and examine himself how much he loveth God and his neighbour.

In the ninth also he moveth them unto faith, and to put their trust in God, and draweth them from confidence of themselves, by rehearsing all the wickedness which they

God stirreth up his people unto faith.

had wrought from the first day he knew them unto that same day. And in the end he repeateth how he conjured God in Horeb, and overcame him with prayer, where thou mayest learn the right manner to pray.

A right way of prayer.

In the tenth he reckoneth up the pith of all laws, and the keeping of the law in the heart; which is to fear God, love him and serve him with all their heart, soul and might, and keep his commandments of love. And he sheweth a reason why they should that do: even because God is Lord of heaven and earth, and hath also done all for them of his own goodness without their deserving. And then out of the love unto God, he bringeth the love unto a man's neighbour saying, God is Lord above all lords and loveth all his servants indifferently, as well the poor and feeble, and the stranger, as the rich and mighty, and therefore will that we love the poor and the stranger. And he addeth a cause, For ye were strangers, and God delivered you, and hath brought you unto a land where ye be at home. Love the stranger therefore for his sake.

The pith and effect of all the laws of God.

And if we first love God, then out of that love we must needs love our neighbour.

In the eleventh he exhorteth them to love and fear God, and rehearseth the terrible deeds of God upon his enemies, and on them that rebelled against him. And he testifieth unto them both what will follow, if they love and fear God, and what also if they despise him, and break his commandment.

What it is to love and fear God, and what it is to despise him.

In the twelfth he commandeth to put out of the way all that might be an occasion to hurt the faith, and forbiddeth to do ought after their own minds, or to alter the word of God.

The word of God may not be altered.

In the thirteenth he forbiddeth to hearken unto ought save unto God's word: no, though he which counselleth contrary should come with miracles, as Paul doth unto the Galatians.

Let no man draw us from God's word.

In the fourteenth the beasts are forbidden, partly for uncleanness of them, and partly to cause hate between the heathen and them, that they have no conversation together, in that one abhorreth what the other eateth. Unto this fifteenth chapter all pertain unto faith and love chiefly.

And in this fifteenth, he beginneth to entreat more specially of things pertaining unto the common wealth, and equity, and exhorteth unto the love of a man's neighbour. And in the sixteenth among other he forgetteth not the same. And in the seventeenth he entreateth of right and equity chiefly, in so much that when he looketh unto faith and unto the punishment of idolaters, he yet endeth in a law of love and equity: forbidding to condemn any man under less than two witnesses at the least, and commandeth to bring the trespasser unto the open gate of the city, where all men go in and out, that all men might hear the cause and see that he had but right. But the Pope hath found a better way, even to oppose him without any accuser and that secretly, that no man know whether he have right or no, either hear his articles or answer; for fear lest the people should search whether it were so or no.

Of matters of the commonweal.

None may be condemned under two witnesses.

In the eighteenth he forbiddeth all false and devilish crafts that hurt true faith. Moreover because the people could not hear the voice of the law spoken to them in fire, he promiseth them another prophet to bring them better tidings, which was spoken of Christ our Saviour.

Christ our Saviour declared in the Old Testament.

The nineteenth, and so forth unto the end of the twenty-seventh, is almost altogether of love unto our neighbours, and of laws, of equity and honesty, with now and then a respect unto faith.

The twenty-eighth is a terrible chapter, and to be trembled at: a christian man's heart might well bleed for sorrow at the reading of it, for fear of the wrath that is like to come upon us, according unto all the curses which thou there readest. For according unto this curse hath God dealt with all nations, after they were fallen into the abominations of blindness.

The curse and wrath of God over all those that break his laws.

The twenty-ninth is like terrible, with a godly lesson in the end that we should leave searching of God's secrets, and give diligence to walk according to that he hath opened unto us. For the keeping of the commandments of God teacheth wisdom as thou mayest see in the same chapter,

We may not be too curious in the searching of God's secrets, but rather stu-

dy to understand and to do our duty towards God and our neighbour.

where Moses saith, Keep the commandments, that ye may understand what ye ought to do. But to search God's secrets, blindeth a man, as is well proved by the swarms of our sophisters, whose wise books are now when we look in the Scripture, found but full of foolishness.

THE PROLOGUE OF

THE PROPHET JONAS.

AS the envious Philistines stopped the wells of Abraham, and filled them up with earth, to put the memorial out of mind, to the intent that they might challenge the ground; even so the fleshly minded hypocrites stop up the veins of life which are in the Scripture, with the earth of their traditions, false similitudes, and lying allegories; and that of like zeal, to make the Scripture their own possession and merchandise, and so shut up the kingdom of heaven, which is God's word; neither entering in themselves, nor suffering them that would.

The Papists keep the Scriptures from the lay-people, because they only will be the publishers and expositors thereof.

The Scripture hath a body without, and within a soul, spirit, and life. It hath without a bark, a shell, and as it were an hard bone for the fleshly minded to gnaw upon. And within it hath pith, kernel, marrow, and all sweetness for God's elect which he hath chosen, to give them his Spirit, and to write his law, and the faith of his son in their hearts.

The Scripture hath a body and a soul.

The Scripture containeth three things in it; first, the law, to condemn all flesh; secondarily, the gospel, that is to say promises of mercy for all that repent and acknowledge their sins, at the preaching of the law, and consent in their hearts that the law is good, and submit themselves to be scholars to learn to keep the law, and to learn to believe the mercy that is promised them; and thirdly, the stories and lives of those scholars, both what chances fortuned them, and also by what means their schoolmaster taught them and made them perfect, and how he tried the true from the false.

The Scripture containeth three things.

When the hypocrites come to the law, they put glosses too, and make no more of it than of a worldly law which is satisfied with the ontward work, and which a Turk may also fulfil. When yet God's law never ceaseth to condemn a man, until it be written in his heart, and until he keep it naturally without compulsion, and all other respect, save only of pure love to God and his neighbour, as he naturally eateth when he is an hungred without compulsion, and all other respect, save to slake his hunger only. And when they come to the gospel, there they mingle their leaven and say, God now receiveth us no more to mercy, but of mercy receiveth us to penance, that is, to wit, holy deeds that make them fat bellies, and us their captives both in soul and body. And yet they feign their idol the Pope so merciful, that if that thou make a little money glister in his Balaam's eyes, there is neither penance, nor purgatory, nor any fasting at all, but to fly to heaven as swift as a thought, and at the twinkling of an eye.

The manner of hypocrites in reading the law of God.

The papistical and corrupt doctrine of the Papists.

And the lives, stories and gifts of men, which are contained in the Bible they read as things no more pertaining unto them, than a tale of Robin Hood, and as things they wot not whereto they serve, save to feign false descant and juggling allegories to stablish their kingdom withal. And one of the chiefest and fleshliest studies they have, is to magnify the saints above measure, and above the truth; and with their poetry to make them greater then ever God

How the Papists wring and wrest the Scriptures.

made them. And if they find any infirmity, or sin ascribed unto the saints, that they excuse with all diligence, diminishing the glory of the mercy of God, and robbing wretched sinners of all their comfort; and think thereby to flatter the saints, and to obtain their favour and to make special advocates of them, even as a man woud obtain the favour of worldly tyrants: as they also feign the saints more cruel than ever was any heathen man, and more wreakful and vengeable then the poets feign their Gods or their furies that torment the souls in hell, if their evens be not fasted, and their images visited and saluted with a paternoster, which prayer only our lips be acquainted with, our hearts understanding none at all, and worshipped with a candle, and the offering of our devotion in the place which they have chosen to hear supplications, and make petitions of their clients therein.

But thou reader, think of the law of God, how that it is altogether spiritual, and so spiritual that it is never fulfilled with deeds or works, until they flow out of thine heart, with as great love toward thine neighbour, for no deserving of his, yea though he be thine enemy, as Christ loved thee, and died for thee, for no deserving of thine but even when thou wast his enemy. And in the mean time, throughout all our infancy and childhood in Christ, till we be grown up into perfect men, in the full knowledge of Christ, and full love of Christ again, and of our neighbours for his sake after the ensample of his love to us, remembering that the fulfilling of the law is, a fast faith in Christ's blood coupled with our profession, and submit ourselves to do better.

And of the gospel or promises which thou meetest in the Scripture, believe fast that God will fulfil them unto thee, and that unto the uttermost jot, at the repentance of thine heart, when thou turnest to him and forsakest evil, even of his goodness and fatherly mercy unto thee, and not for thy flattering him with hypocritish works of thine own feigning. So that a fast faith only, without respect of all

works, is the forgiveness both of the sin which we did in time of ignorance, with lust and consent to sin; and also of that sin which we do by chance, and of frailty, after that we are come to knowledge, and have professed the law out of our hearts. And all deeds serve only for to help our neighbours, and to tame our flesh, that we fall not to sin again; and to exercise our souls in virtue, and not to make satisfaction to Godward for the sin that is once past.

And all other stories of the Bible, without exception, are the practising of the law and of the gospel; and are true and faithful ensamples, and sure earnest that God will even so deal with us, as he did with them, in all infirmities, in all temptations, and in all like cases and chances. Wherein ye see on the one side how fatherly and tenderly, and with all compassion God entreateth his elect, which submit themselves as scholars, to learn to walk in the ways of his laws, and to keep them of love. If they forgat themselves at a time, he would stir them up again with all mercy; if they fell and hurt themselves, he healed them again with all compassion and tenderness of heart. He hath oft brought great tribulation and adversity upon his elect; but all of fatherly love only, to teach them, and to make them see their own hearts, and the sin that there lay hid, that they might afterward feel his mercy: for his mercy waited upon them, to rid them out again, as soon as they were learned, and come to the knowledge of their own hearts; so that he never cast man away, how deep soever he had sinned, save them only which had first cast the yoke of his laws from their necks, with utter defiance, and malice of heart.

God correcteth where he loveth.

God casteth none away but such as refuse to keep his laws, and will not hearken unto his voice.

Which ensamples how comfortable are they for us when we be fallen into sin, and God is come upon us with a scourge, that we despair not; but repent with full hope of mercy, after the ensamples of mercy that are gone before. And therefore they were written for our learning, as testifieth Paul, (Rom. xv.) to comfort us, that we might the better put our hope and trust in God, when we

see how merciful he hath been in times past unto our weak brethren, that are gone before in all their adversities, need, temptations, yea, and horrible sins into which they now and then fell.

Such as harden their hearts, and not hearken to the will of God to do it, God casteth out.

And on the other side, ye see how they that hardened their hearts, and sinned of malice, and refused mercy that was offered them, and had no power to repent, perished at the latter end with all confusion and shame mercilessly. Which ensamples are very good and necessary to keep us in awe and dread in time of prosperity; as thou mayest see by Paul, 1 Cor. x. that we abide in the fear of God, and wax not wild and fall to vanities, and so sin and provoke God, and bring wrath upon us.

The prophets of God bare the weakness of their brethren, and their injuries also with patience.

And thirdly, ye see in the practice how as God is merciful and long-suffering; even so were all his true prophets and preachers, bearing the infirmities of their weak brethren, and their own wrongs and injuries with all patience and long-suffering, never casting any of them off their backs, until they sinned against the Holy Ghost, maliciously persecuting the open and manifest truth: contrary unto the ensample of the Pope, which in sinning against God, and to quench the truth of his Holy Spirit, is ever chief captain and trumpet blower to set other at work, and seeketh only his own freedom, liberty, privilege, wealth, prosperity, profit, pleasure, pastime, honour and glory, with the bondage, thraldom, captivity, misery, wretchedness, and vile subjection of his brethren: and in his own cause is so fervent, so stiff and cruel, that he will not suffer one word spoken against his false majesty, wily inventions, and juggling hypocrisy to be unavenged, though all christendom should be set together by the ears, and should cost, he cared not how many hundred thousand, their lives.

The Pope and his ministers persecutors are over their brethren.

Now that thou mayest read Jonas fruitfully, and not as a poet's fable, but as an obligation between God and thy soul; as an earnest penny given thee of God, that he will help thee in time of need, if thou turn to him; and as the

word of God the only food and life of thy soul, this mark and note. First, count Jonas the friend of God, and a man chosen of God, to testify his name unto the world: but yet a young scholar, weak and rude, after the fashion of the apostles while Christ was yet with them bodily, which, though Christ ever yet taught them to be meek, and to humble themselves, yet oft strove among themselves who should be greatest. The sons of Zebedee would sit the one on the right hand of Christ, the other on the left. They would pray that fire might descend from heaven and consume the Samaritans. When Christ asked, Who say men that I am? Peter answered, Thou art the Son of the living God; as though Peter had been as perfect as an angel. But immediately after, when Christ preached unto them of his death and passion, Peter was angry and rebuked Christ, and thought earnestly that he had raved, and not wist what he said; as at another time, when Christ was so fervently busied in healing the people that he had no leisure to eat, they went out to hold him, supposing that he had been beside himself. And one that cast out devils in Christ's name they forbade, because he waited not on them, so glorious were they yet.

The cruel opinion that the disciples had of Christ.

And though Christ taught alway to forgive, yet Peter after long going to school, asked whether men should forgive seven times, thinking that eight times had been too much. And at the last supper Peter would have died with Christ; but yet within few hours after he denied him, both cowardly and shamefully. And after the same manner, though he had so long heard that no man might avenge himself, but rather turn the other cheek too, than to smite again; yet when Christ was in taking, Peter asked whether it were lawful to smite with the sword, and tarried none answer, but laid on rashly. So that though when we come first unto knowledge of the truth, and the peace is made between God and us, and we love his laws, and believe and trust in him as in our Father, and have good hearts unto him, and be born anew in the Spirit, yet we

The ignorance and imperfection of the apostles.

are but children and young scholars, weak and feeble; and must have leisure to grow in the Spirit, in knowledge, love, and in the deeds thereof, as young children must have time to grow in their bodies.

And God our Father and schoolmaster feedeth us, and teacheth us according unto the capacity of our stomachs, and maketh us to grow and wax perfect, and fineth and trieth us as gold in the fire of temptations and tribulations; as Moses witnesseth, (Deut. viii.) saying, "Remember all the way by which the Lord thy God carried thee this forty years in the wilderness, to humble thee and to tempt or provoke thee, that it might be known what were in thine heart. He brought thee into adversity, and made thee an hungred, and then fed thee with manna, which neither thou nor yet thy fathers ever knew of; to teach that man liveth not by bread only, but by all that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." For the promises of God are life unto all that cleave unto them, much more than is bread and bodily sustenance; as the journey of the children of Israel out of Egypt into the land promised them, ministereth thee notable ensamples, and that abundantly, as doth all the rest of the Bible also. Howbeit, it is impossible for flesh to believe, and to trust in the truth of God's promises, until he have learned it in much tribulation, after that God hath delivered him out thereof again.

God doth mercifully try and tempt us to move us to utter our hearts and minds towards him.

God, therefore, to teach Jonas, and to shew him his own heart, and to make him perfect, and to instruct us also by his ensample, sent him out of the land of Israel where he was a prophet, to go among the heathen people, and to the greatest and mightiest city of the world then, called Niniveh, to preach that within forty days they should all perish for their sins, and that the city should be overthrown. Which message the free will of Jonas had as much power to do as the weakest hearted woman in the world hath power, if she were commanded, to leap into a tub of living snakes and adders: as haply, if God had

Jonas of himself was an unmeet messenger to be sent of such a message, but God assisted him with his Holy Spirit.

commanded Sarah to have sacrificed her son Isaac, as he did Abraham, she would have disputed with him ere she had done it; or though she were strong enough, yet many an holy saint could not have found in their hearts, but would have run away from the presence of the commandment of God, with Jonas, if they had been so strongly tempted.

The carnal imagination of man's nature without God's Spirit.

For Jonas thought of this manner: Lo, I am here a prophet unto God's people the Israelites; which, though they have God's word testified unto them daily, yet despise it, and worship God under the likeness of calves, and after all manner [of] fashions, save after his own word; and therefore are of all nations the worst, and most worthy of punishment. And yet God, for love of few that are among them, and for his name's sake, spareth and defendeth them. How then should God take so cruel vengeance on so great a multitude of them to whom his name was never preached, and therefore are not the tenth part so evil as these? If I shall therefore go preach, so shall I lay and shame myself and God thereto, and make them the more to despise God, and set the less by him, and to be the more cruel unto his people.

Jonas so long as he was in his carnal imagination, could not abide the voice of God, but fled: howbeit God called him again.

And upon that imagination he fled from the face or presence of God: that is, out of the country where God was worshipped in, and from the prosecuting of God's commandment; and thought, I will get me another way among the heathen people, and be no more a prophet, but live at rest, and out of all cumbrance. Nevertheless, the God of all mercy, which careth for his elect children, and turneth all unto good to them, and smiteth them to heal them again, and killeth them to make them alive again, and playeth with them (as a father doth sometime with his young ignorant children,) and tempteth them, and proveth them to make them see their own hearts, provided for Jonas, how all things should be.

Jonas's flesh rebelled against the spirit.

When Jonas entered into the ship, he laid him down to sleep, and to take his rest: that is, his conscience was tossed between the commandment of God, which sent him

to Nineveh, and his fleshly wisdom, that dissuaded and counselled him the contrary; and at the last prevailed against the commandment, and carried him another way, as a ship caught between two streams; and as poets feign the mother of Meleager to be between divers affections, while to avenge her brother's death she sought to slay her own son. Whereupon for very pain and tediousness he lay down to sleep, for to put the commandment, which so gnawed and fretted his conscience, out of mind; as the nature of all wicked is when they have sinned a good, to seek all means with riot, revel, and pastime, to drive the remembrance of sin out of their thoughts; or, as Adam did, to cover their nakedness with aprons of Pope holy works. But God awoke him out of his dream, and set his sins before his face.

The wicked seek to cover their wickedness with Pope holy works.

How Jonas was trapped and made afraid.

For when the lot had caught Jonas, then be sure that his sins came to remembrance again; and that his conscience raged no less than the waves of the sea. And then he thought that he only was a sinner, and the heathen that were in the ship none in respect of him; and thought also, as verily as he was fled from God, that as verily God had cast him away: for the sight of the rod maketh the natural child not only to see, and to knowledge his fault, but also to forget all his father's old mercy and kindness. And then he confessed his sin openly, and had yet lever perish alone, than that the other should have perished with him for his sake; and so of very desperation to have lived any longer, he had cast him into the sea betimes, except they would be lost also.

Jonas being afraid confesseth his sins.

Lots, how they may be used lawfully.

To speak of lots, how far forth they are lawful is a light question. First, to use them for the breaking of strife; as when partners, their goods as equally divided as they can, take every man his part by lot, to avoid all suspicion of deceitfulness: and as the Apostles, in the first of the Acts, when they sought another to succeed Judas the traitor, and two persons were presented, then, to break strife, and to satisfy all parties, did cast lots whether should be ad-

mitted, desiring God to temper them, and to take whom he knew most meet, seeing they wist not whether to prefer, or haply could not all agree on either, is lawful, and in all like cases. But to abuse them unto the tempting of God, and to compel him therewith to utter things whereof we stand in doubt, when we have no commandment of him so to do, as these heathen here did, though God turned it unto his glory, cannot be but evil.

Miracle moveth the heathen to know God and to call upon him.

The heathen shipmen, astonished at the sight of the miracle, feared God, prayed to him, offered sacrifice, and vowed vows. And I doubt not but that some of them, or haply all, came thereby unto the true knowledge, and true worshipping of God, and were won to God in their souls. And thus God, which is infinite merciful in all his ways, wrought their soul's health out of the infirmity of Jonas; even of his good will and purpose, and love wherewith he loved them before the world was made, and not of chance, as it appeareth unto the eyes of the ignorant.

As Jonas lay three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so Christ lay three days and three nights in the earth.

And that Jonas was three days and three nights in the belly of his fish, we cannot thereby prove unto the Jews and infidels, or unto any man, that Christ must therefore die, and be buried and rise again. But we use the ensample and likeness to strengthen the faith of the weak. For he that believeth the one, cannot doubt in the other: inasmuch as the hand of God was no less mighty in preserving Jonas alive against all natural possibility, and in delivering him safe out of his fish, than in raising up Christ again out of his sepulchre. And we may describe the power and virtue of the resurrection thereby, as Christ himself borroweth the similitude thereto, (Matt. xii.) saying unto the Jews that came about him, and desired a sign or a wonder from heaven to certify them that he was Christ: this evil and wedlock breaking nation (which break the wedlock of faith, wherewith they be married unto God, and believe in their false works,) seek a sign, but there shall no sign be given them, save the sign of the prophet Jonas. For as Jonas was three days and three

How Christ sheweth his death and resurrection, by Jonas the Prophet.

nights in the belly of the whale, even so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth. Which was a watch-word (as we say), and a sharp threatening unto the Jews; and as much to say as thus: Ye hard-hearted Jews seek a sign; lo, this shall be your sign: As Jonas was raised out of the sepulchre of his fish, and then sent unto the Ninevites to preach that they should perish; even so shall I rise again out of my sepulchre, and come and preach repentance unto you. See, therefore, when ye see the sign that ye repent, or else ye shall surely perish, and not escape. For though the infirmities which ye now see in my flesh be a let unto your fathers, ye shall then be without excuse when ye see so great a miracle, and so great power of God shed out upon you. And so Christ came again after the resurrection in his Spirit, and preached repentance unto them by the mouth of his apostles and disciples, and with miracles of the Holy Ghost. And all that repented not perished shortly after, and the rest carried away captive into all quarters of the world for an ensample, as ye see unto this day.

Christ by the mouth of his apostles preached repentance to the Jews.

And in like manner, since the world began, wheresoever repentance was offered and not received, there God took cruel vengeance immediately: as ye see in the flood of Noah, in the overthrowing of Sodom and Gomorrah, and all the country about; and as ye see of Egypt, of the Amorites, Canaanites, and afterward of the very Israelites; and then, at the last, of the Jews too, and of the Assyrians and Babylonians; and so throughout all the empires of the world.

Where there is no repentance, there God poureth out his vengeance.

Gildas preached repentance unto the old Britains that inhabited England: they repented not, and therefore God sent in their enemies upon them on every side, and destroyed them up, and gave the land unto other nations. And great vengeance hath been taken in that land for sin since that time.

Gildas a writer of the British Chronicle.

Wickliffe preached repentance unto our fathers not

Wickliffe a preacher of repentance.

long since: they repented not, for their hearts were indurate, and their eyes blinded with their own pope-holy righteousness, wherewith they had made their souls gay against the receiving again of the wicked spirit, that bringeth seven worse than himself with him; and maketh the latter end worse than the beginning: for in open sins there is hope of repentance; but in holy hypocrisy none at all. But what followed? They slew their true and right king, and set up three wrong kings a row, under which all the noble blood was slain up and half the commons thereto; what in France, and what with their own sword, in fighting among themselves for the crown; and the cities and towns decayed, and the land brought half into a wilderness, in respect of that it was before.

They slew Richard the Second. They set up Henry the Fourth. Henry the Fifth. Henry the Sixth.

And now Christ, to preach repentance, is risen yet once again out of his sepulchre in which the Pope had buried him, and kept him down with his pillars and poleaxes, and all disguisings of hypocrisy, with guile, wiles and falsehood, and with the sword of all princes, which he had blinded with his false merchandise. And as I doubt not of the ensamples that are past, so am I sure that great wrath will follow, except repentance turn it back again and cease it.

Christ now preacheth repentance unto us.

When Jonas had been in the fish's belly a space, and the rage of his conscience was somewhat quieted and suaged, and he came to himself again and had received a little hope, the qualms and pangs of desperation which went over his heart, half overcome, he prayed, as he maketh mention in the text, saying, Jonas prayed unto the Lord his God out of the belly of the fish. But the words of that prayer are not here set. The prayer that here standeth in the text is the prayer of praise and thanksgiving, which he prayed and wrote when he was escaped, and past all jeopardy.

Jonas called upon God out of the fish's belly.

In the end of which prayer he saith, "I will sacrifice with the voice of thanksgiving, and pay that I have vowed, that saving cometh of the Lord." For verily, to confess out of the heart that all benefits come of God, even out of

The sacrifice that Jonas offereth unto God.

the goodness of his mercy, and not deserving of our deeds, is the only sacrifice that pleaseth God. And to believe that all the Jews vowed in their circumcision, as we in our baptism, which vow Jonas, now being taught with experience, promiseth to pay. For those outward sacrifices of beasts, unto which Jonas had haply ascribed too much before, were but feeble and childish things, and not ordained, that the works of themselves should be a service unto the people, but to put them in remembrance of this inward sacrifice of thanks and of faith, to trust and believe in God the only Saviour; which signification, when it was away, they were abominable and devilish idolatry, and image service; as our ceremonies and sacraments are become now to all that trust and believe in the work of them, and are not taught the significations, to edify their souls with knowledge and the doctrine of God.

The sacrifices of the old law were ordained to put us in remembrance of the sacrifice of thanksgiving.

When Jonas was cast upon land again, then his will was free, and had power to go whither God sent him, and to do what God bade, his own imaginations laid apart: for he had been at a new school, yea, and in a furnace where he was purged of much refuse and dross of fleshly wisdom, which resisted the wisdom of God, and led Jonas's will contrary unto the will of God. For as far as we be blind in Adam, we cannot but seek and will our own profit, pleasure, and glory,—and as far as we be taught in the Spirit, we cannot but seek and will the pleasure and glory of God only.

Jonas did that God commanded him.

And as the three days journey of Nineveh, whether it were in length, or to go round about it, or through all the streets, I commit unto the discretion of other men. But I think that it was then the greatest city of the world.

Nineveh was the greatest city in the world.

And that Jonas went a day's journey in the city.—I suppose he did it not in one day; but went fair and easily, preaching here a sermon, and there another; and rebuked the sin of the people, for which they must perish.

And when thou art come unto the repentance of the Ninevites, there hast thou sure earnest, that howsoever

angry God be, yet he remembereth mercy unto all that truly repent and believe in mercy: which ensample our Saviour Christ also casteth in the teeth of the indurate Jews, saying, "The Ninevites shall rise in judgment with this nation, and condemn them; for they repented at the preaching of Jonas, and behold a greater than Jonas [is] here:" meaning of himself, at whose preaching yet, though it were never so mighty to pierce the heart, and for all his miracles thereto, the hard-hearted Jews could not repent; when the heathen Ninevites repented at the bare preaching of Jonas, rebuking their sins without any miracle at all.—Why? For the Jews had leavened the spiritual law of God, and with their glosses had made it altogether earthly and fleshly, and so had set a veil or covering on Moses's face, to shadow and darken the glorious brightness of his countenance. It was sin to steal, but to rob widow's houses under a colour of long praying, and to poll, in the name of offerings, and to snare the people with intolerable constitutions against all love; to catch their money out of their purses—was no sin at all.

Christ is merciful to them that repent and call for mercy.

The doctrine of the Pharisees and the Papists make sin of that is no sin.

To smite father and mother was sin; but to withdraw help from them at their need, for blind zeal of offering, unto the profit of the holy Pharisees—was then as meritorious as it is now: to let all thy kin choose whether they will sink or swim, while thou buildest and makest goodly foundations for holy people, which thou hast chosen to be thy Christ: for to supple thy soul with the oil of their sweet blessings, and to be thy Jesus for to save thy soul from the purgatory of the blood that only purgeth sin, with their watching, fasting, woolward going, and rising at midnight, &c., wherewith yet they purge not themselves from their covetousness, pride, lechery, or any vice that thou seest among the lay people.

This is the doctrine of the Papists and hypocritical monks at this day.

The blind and fruitless works of the Papists.

It was great sin for Christ to heal the people on the sabbath day, unto the glory of God his father,—but none at all for them to help their cattle unto their own profit.

Papistical sins.

It was sin to eat with unwashed hands, or on an unwashed table, or out of an unwashed dish;—but to eat out

of that purified dish, that which came of bribery, theft, and extortion, was no sin at all.

It was exceeding meritorious to make many disciples,—but to teach them to fear God in his ordinances, had they no care at all.

Papists taught themselves and their works with all cruelty.

The high prelates so defended the right of holy church, and so feared the people with the curse of God, and terrible pains of hell, that no man durst leave the vilest herb in his garden untithed. And the offerings and things dedicate unto God, for the profit of his holy vicars, were in such estimation and reverence, that it was a much greater sin to swear truly by them, than to forswear thyself by God. What vengeance then of God, and how terrible and cruel damnation think ye preached they to fall on them that had stolen so the holy things? And yet, saith Christ, that righteousness and faith in keeping promise, mercy, and indifferent judgment, were utterly trodden under foot, and clean despised of those blessed fathers, which so mightily maintained Aaron's patrimony, and had made it so prosperous, and environed it, and walled it about on every side with the fear of God, that no man durst touch it.

The false and wicked doctrine of the Papists.

Blind and hypocritical doctrine.

It was great holiness to garnish the sepulchres of the prophets, and to condemn their own fathers for slaying of them, and yet were they themselves for blind zeal of their own constitutions, as ready as their fathers to slay whosoever testified unto them the same truth which the prophets testified unto their fathers. So that Christ compareth all the righteousness of those holy patriarchs unto the outward beauty of a painted sepulchre, full of stench and all uncleanness within.

And finally, to beguile a man's neighbour, in subtle bargaining, and to wrap and compass him in with cautels of the law, was then, as it is now in the kingdom of the Pope. By the reason whereof, they excluded the law of love out their hearts; and consequently, all true repentance: for how could they repent of that they could not see to be sin?

And on the other side they had set up a righteousness of holy works, to cleanse their souls withal; as the Pope sanctifieth us with holy oil, holy bread, holy salt, holy candles, holy dumb ceremonies, and holy dumb blessings, and with whatsoever holiness thou wilt, save with the holiness of God's word, which only speaketh unto the heart, and sheweth the soul his filthiness, and uncleanness of sin, and leadeth her by the way of repentance unto the fountain of Christ's blood, to wash it away through faith. By the reason of which false righteousness they were disobedient unto the righteousness of God, which is the forgiveness of sin in Christ's blood, and could not believe it: and so through fleshly interpreting the law, and false imagined righteousness, their hearts were hardened, and made as stony as clay in an hot furnace of fire, that they could receive neither repentance, nor faith, or any moisture of grace at all.

The Pharisees set up a righteousness of works to cleanse their souls withal.

By the worldly and fleshly interpretations of the Scriptures the Jews' hearts were hardened.

But the heathen Ninevites, though they were blinded with lusts, yet were in those two points uncorrupt, and unhardened, and therefore, with the only preaching of Jonas, came unto the knowledge of their sins, and confessed them, and repented truly, and turned every man from his evil deeds, and declared their sorrow of heart, and true repentance, with their deeds which they did out of faith and hope of forgiveness, chastising their bodies with prayer and fasting, and with taking all pleasures from the flesh: trusting, as God was angry for their wickedness, even so should he forgive them of his mercy, if they repented, and forsook their misliving.

The heathen repented at the preaching of Jonas.

And in the last end of all, thou hast yet a goodly ensample of learning, to see how earthy Jonas is still, for all his trying in the whale's belly. He was so sore displeased because the Ninevites perished not, that he was weary of his life, and wished after death, for very sorrow that he had lost the glory of his prophecying, in that his prophecy came not to pass. But God rebuked him with a likeness, saying, It grieveth thine heart for the loss of a vile shrub, or spray, whereon thou bestowedst no labour or cost, nei-

A good and profitable example.

ther was it thine handy work; how much more then should it grieve mine heart the loss of so great a multitude of innocents as are in Nineveh, which are all mine hands' work? Nay, Jonas, I am God over all, and father as well unto the heathen as unto the Jews; and merciful to all, and warn ere I smite, neither threat I so cruelly by any prophet, but that I will forgive, if they repent and ask mercy: neither on the other side, whatsoever I promise will I fulfil it, save for their sakes only which trust in me, and submit themselves to keep my laws of very love, as natural children.

Note here the great mercy of God.

The right manner how to read the Scripture.

ON this manner to read the Scripture is the right use thereof, and why the Holy Ghost caused it to be written. That is, that thou first seek out the law that God will have thee to do, interpreting it spiritually, without gloss or covering the brightness of Moses's face; so that thou feel in thine heart, how that it is damnable sin before God, not to love thy neighbour that is thine enemy as purely as Christ loved thee; and that not to love thy neighbour in thine heart, is to have committed already all sin against him.

And therefore until that love be come, thou must knowledge unfeignedly that there is sin in the best deed thou doest: and it must earnestly grieve thine heart, and thou must wash all thy good deeds in Christ's blood, ere they can be pure, and an acceptable sacrifice unto God; and must desire God the Father, for his sake to take thy deeds a worth, and to pardon the imperfectness of them, and to give thee power to do them better, and with more fervent love.

All our deeds are made perfect in Christ's blood.

And on the other side, thou must search diligently for the promises of mercy, which God hath promised thee again. Which two points, that is to wit, the law spiritually interpreted, how that all is damnable sin that is not unfeigned love out of the ground and bottom of the heart, after the ensample of Christ's love to us, because we be all equally created and formed of one God our Father, and

indifferently bought, and redeemed with one blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ: and that the promises be given unto a repenting soul, that thirsteth and longeth after them of the pure and fatherly mercy of God, through our faith only, without all deserving of our deeds, or merits of our works, but for Christ's sake alone, and for the merits and deservings of his works, death and passions that he suffered all together for us, and not for himself: which two points I say, if they be written in thine heart, are the keys which so open all the Scripture unto thee, that no creature can lock thee out, and with which thou shalt go in and out, and find pasture, and food every where. And if these lessons be not written in thine heart, then is all the Scripture shut up, as a kernel in the shell, so that thou mayest read it, and comment of it, and rehearse all the studies of it, and dispute wittily, and be a profound sophister, and yet understand not one jot thereof.

All the promises made by God in Christ, are made to them that repent.

The two keys that open all the Scripture.

And thirdly, that thou take the stories and lives which are contained in the Bible, for sure and undoubted ensamples, that God so will deal with us unto the world's end.

Herewith reader, farewell, and be commended unto God, and unto the grace of his Spirit. And first see that thou stop not thine ears unto the calling of God, and harden not thine heart beguiled with fleshly interpreting of the law, and false imagined and hypocritish righteousness, lest then the Ninevites rise with thee at the day of judgment, and condemn thee.

And secondarily, if thou find ought amiss, when thou seest thyself in the glass of God's word, think it necessary wisdom to amend the same betimes, monished and warned by the ensample of other men, rather than to tarry until thou be beaten also.

And thirdly, if it shall so chance, that the wild lusts of thy flesh shall blind thee, and carry thee clean away with them for a time: yet at the latter end, when the God of all mercy shall have compassed thee in on every side with temptations, tribulation, adversities and cumbrance, to

A very fruitful and good lesson.

bring thee home again unto thine own heart, and to set thy sins which thou wouldest so feign cover, and put out of mind with delectation of voluptuous pastimes, before the eyes of thy conscience: then call the faithful ensample of Jonas, and all like stories unto thy remembrance, and with Jonas turn unto thy Father that smote thee, not to cast thee away, but to lay a corrosive, and a fretting plaster unto the pock, that lay hid and fret inward, to draw the disease out, and to make it appear, that thou mightest feel thy sickness, and the danger thereof, and come and receive the healing plaster of mercy.

How thou mayest at all times apply the stories of the Bible to thy great comfort.

And forget not that whatsoever ensample of mercy God hath shewed since the beginning of the world, the same is promised thee, if thou wilt in like manner turn again, and receive it as they did, and with Jonas be aknowen of thy sin and confess it, and knowledge it unto thy father.

The law must be fulfilled with the mercy that is in Christ.

And as the law which fretteth thy conscience is in thine heart, and is none outward thing, even so seek within thy heart the plaster of mercy, the promises of forgiveness in our Saviour Jesus Christ, according unto all the ensamples of mercy that are gone before.

And with Jonas let them that wait on vanities, and seek God here and there, and in every temple save in their hearts, go: and seek thou the Testament of God in thine heart. For in thine heart is the word of the law, and in thine heart is the word of faith, in the promises of mercy in Jesus Christ. So that if thou confess with a repenting heart and knowledge, and surely believe that Jesus is Lord over all sin, thou art safe.

In thy heart are the words of the law, and in thine heart are the promises and mercy of Christ.

Our sin is of ourselves: but remission and forgiveness thereof cometh freely of the mercy of God for Christ's sake.

And finally, when the rage of thy conscience is ceased, and quieted with fast faith in the promises of mercy, then offer with Jonas the offering of praise and thanksgiving, and pay the vow of thy baptism; that God only saveth of his only mercy and goodness: that is, believe stedfastly, and preach constantly, that it is God only that smiteth, and God only that healeth: ascribing the cause of thy tribulation unto thine own sin, and the cause of thy deliverance unto the mercy of God.

And beware of the leaven that saith we have power in our free-will before the preaching of the gospel, to deserve grace, to keep the law of congruity, or God to be unrighteous. And say with John in the first, that as the law was given by Moses, even so grace to fulfil it is given by Christ. And when they say our deeds with grace deserve heaven, say thou with Paul, (Rom. vi.) "that everlasting life is the gift of God through Jesus Christ our Lord, and that we be made sons by faith." (John i.) "And therefore heirs of God with Christ." (Rom. viii.) And say, that we receive all of God through faith, that followeth repentance, and that we do not our works unto God, but either unto ourselves, to slay the sin that remaineth in the flesh, and to wax perfect; either unto our neighbours, which do as much for us again in other things. And when a man exceedeth in gifts of grace, let him understand that they be given him, as well for his weak brethren, as for himself: as though all the bread be committed unto the panter, yet for his fellows with him, which give the thanks unto their lord, and recompense the panter again, with other kind of service in their offices. And when they say that Christ hath made no satisfaction for the sin we do after our baptism: say thou with the doctrine of Paul, that in our baptism we receive the merits of Christ's death through repentance and faith, of which two, baptism is the sign. And though when we sin of frailty after our baptism, we receive the sign no more, yet we be renewed again through repentance, and faith in Christ's blood, of which twain, that sign of baptism even continued among us in baptizing our young children, doth ever keep us in mind, and call us back again unto our profession if we be gone astray, and promiseth us forgiveness. Neither can actual sin be washed away with our works, but with Christ's blood: neither can there be any other sacrifice, or satisfaction to Godward for them, save Christ's blood. Forasmuch as we can do no works unto God, but receive only of his mercy

God hath no need of our works but we must do them for ourselves: and for the profit of our neighbours.

Christ hath satisfied for our sins, as well after baptism, as before baptism.

Our actual sins are washed away in Christ's blood.

with our repenting faith, through Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour: unto whom and unto God our Father through him, and unto his holy Spirit, that only purgeth, sanctifieth, and washeth us in the innocent blood of our redemption, be praise for ever. Amen.

THE PARABLE

OF THE

WICKED MAMMON.

¶ That faith, the mother of all good works, justifieth us, before we can bring forth any good work: as the husband marrieth his wife before he can have any lawful children by her. Furthermore, as the husband marrieth not his wife that she should continue unfruitful as before, and as she was in the state of virginity, (wherein it was impossible for her to bear fruit) but contrariwise to make her fruitful; even so faith justifieth us not, that is to say, marrieth us not to God, that we should continue unfruitful as before, but that he should put the seed of his Holy Spirit in us, (as St. John in his first Epistle calleth it) and to make us fruitful. For, saith Paul, (Eph. ii.) "By grace are ye made safe through faith, and that not of yourselves: for it is the gift of God, and cometh not of the works, lest any man should boast himself. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath ordained that we should walk in them." Amen.

WILLIAM TYNDALE,

OTHERWISE CALLED HITCHINS,

TO THE READER.

GRACE and peace, with all manner [of] spiritual feeling and living, worthy of the kindness of Christ, be with the reader, and with all that trust the will of God. Amen.

The cause why I set my name before this little Treatise, and have not rather done it in the New Testament, is, that then I followed the the counsel of Christ, which exhorteth men (Matt. vi.) to do their good deeds secretly, and to be content with the conscience of well-doing; and that God seeth us; and patiently to abide the reward of the last day, which Christ hath purchased for us: and now would I fain have done likewise, but am I compelled otherwise to do.

The cause why W. Tyndale put his name to some books, and left it out in some.

While I abode, a faithful companion, which now hath taken another voyage upon him, to preach Christ where, I suppose, he was never yet preached, (God, which put in his heart thither to go, send his Spirit with him, comfort him, and bring his purpose to good effect,) one William Roye, a man somewhat crafty, when he cometh unto new acquaintance, and before he be thorough known, and namely, when all is

William Roye a false disciple.

spent, came unto me and offered his help. As long as he had no money somewhat I could rule him; but as soon as he had gotten him money, he became like himself again. Nevertheless, I suffered all things till that was ended, which I could not do alone without one, both to write, and to help me to compare the texts together. When that was ended, I took my leave, and bade him farewell for our two lives; and, as men say, a day longer. After we were departed, he went and gat him new friends, which thing to do he passeth all that ever I yet knew. And there, when he had stored him of money, he gat him to Argentine, where he professeth wonderful faculties, and maketh boast of no small things. A year after that, and now twelve months before the printing of this work, came one Jerome, a brother of Greenwich also, through Worms to Argentine, saying that he intended to be Christ's disciple another while, and to keep (as nigh as God would give him grace,) the profession of his baptism, and to get his living with his hands, and to live no longer idly, and of the sweat and labour of those captives, which they had taught not to believe in Christ, but in cut shoes, and russet coats. Which Jerome, with all diligence, I warned of Roye's boldness, and exhorted him to beware of him, and to walk quietly, and with all patience and long-suffering, according as we have Christ and his apostles for an ensample, which thing he also promised me.

Jerome a brother of Greenwich.

Nevertheless, when he was come to Argentine, William Roye (whose tongue is able not only to make fools stark mad, but also to deceive the wisest, that is at the first sight and acquaintance,) gat him to him, and set him a work to make rhymes, while he himself translated a dialogue out of Latin into English, in whose Prologue he promiseth more a great deal than I fear me he will ever pay. Paul saith, (2 Tim. ii.) 2 Tim. ii.
"The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be peaceable unto all men, and ready to teach, and one that can suffer the evil with meekness, and that can inform them that resist; if God at any time will give them repentance for to know the truth." It becometh not then the Lord's servant to use railing rhymes, but God's word, which is the right weapon to slay sin, vice and all iniquity. The Scripture of God is good to teach and to improve. (2 Tim. iii. and 2 Thess. ii.) Paul 2 Tim. iii. 2 Thess. ii.
speaking of Antichrist, saith, "Whom the Lord shall destroy with the Spirit, or breath of his mouth;" that is, with the word of God. And (2 Cor. x.) "The weapons of our war are not 2 Cor. x.
carnal things, (saith he) but mighty in God to cast down strong holds," and so forth; that is, to destroy high buildings of false doctrine. The word of God is that day whereof Paul speaketh, (1 Cor. iii.) which shall declare all things, and 1 Cor. iii.
that fire which shall try every man's work, and consume false doctrine: with that sword ought men sharply to fight, and not to rail with foolish rhymes. Let it not offend thee that some walk

inordinately; let not the wickedness of Judas cause thee to despise the doctrine of his fellows. No man ought to think that Stephen was a false preacher because that Nicholas, which was chosen fellow with him (Acts vi.) to minister unto the widows, fell after into great heresies, as histories make mention. Good and evil go always together, one cannot be known without the other.

Acts vi.

Antichrist, what it is.

Mark this also above all things,—that Antichrist is not an outward thing, that is to say, a man that should suddenly appear with wonders, as our fathers talked of him. No, verily; for Antichrist is a spiritual thing. And is as much to say as against Christ; that is, one that preacheth false doctrine, contrary to Christ. Antichrist was in the Old Testament, and fought with the prophets; he was also in the time of Christ and the apostles, as thou readest in the Epistles of John, and of Paul to the Corinthians and Galatians, and other Epistles. Antichrist is now, and shall, (I doubt not) endure till the world's end. But his nature is (when he is uttered and overcome with the word of God) to go out of the play for a season, and to disguise himself, and then to come in again with a new name and new raiment. As thou seest how Christ rebuketh the Scribes and the Pharisees in the gospel, (which were very Antichrists,) saying, "Woe be to you, Pharisees, for ye rob widows' houses; ye pray long prayers under a colour; ye shut up the kingdom of heaven, and

Scribes and Pharisees were very Antichrists.

The properties of Antichrist.

suffer them not that would to enter in; ye have taken away the key of knowledge; ye make men break God's commandments with your traditions; ye beguile the people with hypocrisy and such like; Which things all our prelates do, but have yet gotten them new names, and other garments, and are otherwise disguised. There is difference in the names between a pope, a cardinal, a bishop, and so forth, and to say a scribe, a pharisee, a senior, and so forth; but the thing is all one. Even so now, when we have uttered him, he will change himself once more, and turn himself into angel of light. (2 Cor. xi.) Read the place, I exhort thee, whatsoever thou art that readest this, and note it well. The Jews look for Christ, and he is come fifteen hundred years ago, and they not aware: we also have looked for Antichrist, and he hath reigned as long, and we not aware; and that because either of us looked carnally for him, and not in the places where we ought to have sought. The Jews had found Christ verily if they had sought him in the law and the prophets, whither Christ sendeth them to seek. (John v.) We also had spied out Antichrist long ago if we had looked in the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, where, because the beast seeth himself now to be sought for, he roareth, and seeketh new holes to hide himself in, and changeth himself into a thousand fashions, with all manner [of] wiliness, falsehood, subtilty, and craft. Because that his excommunications are come to light, he maketh it treason unto the

2 Cor. 11.

Antichrist hath been among us a long time.

John v.

Antichrist accounteth it treason to be acquainted with Christ.

king to be acquainted with Christ. If Christ and they may not reign together, one hope we have that Christ shall live ever. The old Antichrists brought Christ unto Pilate, saying, By our law he ought to die; and when Pilate bade them judge him after their law, they answered, It is not lawful for us to kill any man; which they did to the intent that they which regarded not the shame of their false excommunications, should yet fear to confess Christ, because that the temporal sword had condemned him. They do all things of a good zeal, they say; they love you so well, that they had rather burn you, than that you should have fellowship with Christ. They are jealous over you amiss, (as saith St. Paul Gal. iv. Gal. iv.) They would divide you from Christ and his holy Testament, and join you to the Pope, to believe in his testament and promises. Some man will ask, peradventure, Why I take the labour to make this work, inasmuch as they will burn it, seeing they burnt the gospel? I answer, In burning the New Testament they did none other thing than that I looked for, no more shall they do if they burn me also, if it be God's will it shall so be.

Nevertheless, in translating the New Testament I did my duty, and so do I now, and will do as much more as God hath ordained me to do. And as I offered that to all men to correct it, whosoever could, even so I do this. Whosoever, therefore, readeth this, compare it unto the Scripture. If God's word bear record unto it,

and thou also feelest in thine heart that it is so, be of good comfort, and give God thanks. If God's word condemn it, then hold it accursed, and so do all other doctrines: as Paul counselleth his Galatians:—Believe not every spirit suddenly, but judge them by the word of God, which is the trial of all doctrine, and lasteth for ever. Amen.

THE PARABLE

OF THE

WICKED MAMMON.

"There was a certain rich man which had a steward, that was accused unto him that he had wasted his goods; and called him, and said unto him, How is it that I hear this of thee? Give account of thy stewardship; for thou mayest be no longer my steward. The steward said within himself, What shall I do, for my master will take away from me my stewardship? I cannot dig, and to beg I am ashamed. I wot what to do, that when I am put out of my stewardship, they may receive me into their houses. Then called he all his master's debtors, and said unto the first, How much owest thou unto my master? And he said, An hundred tons of oil. And he said to him, Take thy bill, and sit down quickly, and write fifty. Then said he to another, What owest thou? And he said, An hundred quarters of wheat. He said to him, Take thy bill, and write fourscore. And the lord commended the unjust steward, because he had done wisely. For the children of this world are in their kind wiser than the children of light. And I say also unto you, make you friends of the wicked mammon, that when ye shall have need, they may receive you into everlasting habitations." (Luke xvith chapter.) Luke 16.

FORASMUCH as with this, and divers such other texts, many have enforced to draw the people from the true faith, and from putting their trust in the truth of God's promises, and in the merits and deserving of his Christ our Lord; and have also brought it to pass, (for

many false prophets shall arise and deceive many, and much wickedness must also be, saith Christ; (Matt. xxiv.) and Paul saith, (2 Tim. iii.) Evil men and deceivers shall prevail in evil, while they deceive, and are deceived themselves;) and have taught them to put their trust in their own merits; and brought them in belief that they shall be justified in the sight of God by the goodness of their own works, and have corrupted the pure word of God, to confirm their Aristotle withal. For though that the philosophers, and worldly wise men, were enemies above all enemies to the gospel of God; and though the worldly wisdom cannot comprehend the wisdom of God, as thou mayest see 1 Cor. i. and ii. And though worldly righteousness cannot be obedient unto the righteousness of God, (Rom. x.) yet whatsoever they read in Aristotle, that must be first true. And to maintain that, they rend and tear the Scriptures with their distinctions, and expound them violently, contrary to the meaning of the text, and to the circumstances that go before and after, and to a thousand clear and evident texts. Wherefore I have taken in hand to expound this gospel, and certain other places of the New Testament; and, (as far forth as God shall lend me grace,) to bring the Scripture unto the right sense, and to dig again the wells of Abraham, and to purge and cleanse them of the earth of worldy wisdom wherewith these Philistines have stopped them. Which grace, grant me, God, for the love that he hath unto his Son, Jesus our Lord, unto the glory of his name. Amen.

Matt. xxiv.
2 Tim. iii.
1 Cor. i. and ii.
Rom. x.

Faith only justifieth.

THAT faith only before all works and without all merits, but Christ's only, justifieth and setteth us at peace with God, is proved by Paul in the first chapter to the Romans. I am not ashamed (saith he) of the gospel, that is to say, of the glad tidings and promises which God hath made, and sworn to us in Christ. For it (that is to say the gospel) is the power of God unto salvation to all that believe.

Romans i.

And it followeth in the foresaid chapter, the just or righteous must live by faith.

Faith bringeth life.

For in the faith which we have in Christ, and in God's promises find we mercy, life, favour and peace. In the law we find death, damnation, and wrath: moreover, the curse and vengeance of God upon us. And it (that is to say the law) is called of Paul (2 Cor. iii.) the ministration of death and damnation. In the law we are proved to be the enemies of God, and that we hate him. For how can we be at peace with God and love him, seeing we are conceived and born under the power of the devil, and are his possession and kingdom, his captives and bondmen, and led at his will, and he holdeth our hearts, so that it is impossible for us to consent to the will of God, much more is it impossible for a man to fulfil the law of his own strength and power, seeing that we are by birth and of nature, the heirs of eternal damnation. As saith Paul, Eph. ii. We (saith he) are by nature the children of wrath, which thing the law doth but utter only, and helpeth us not, yea requireth impossible things of us. The law when it commandeth that thou shalt not lust, giveth thee not power so to do, but damneth thee, because thou canst not so do.

The law bringeth death.

2 Cor. iii.

Eph ii.

IF thou wilt therefore be at peace with God, and love him, thou must turn to the promises of God, and to the gospel, which is called of Paul in the place before rehearsed to the Corinthians, the ministration of righteousness, and of the Spirit. For faith bringeth pardon, and forgiveness freely purchased by Christ's blood, and bringeth also the Spirit, the Spirit looseth the bonds of the devil, and setteth us at liberty. For where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty, saith Paul in the same place to the Corinthians, that is to say, there the heart is free, and hath power to love the will of God, and there the heart mourneth that he cannot love enough. Now is that consent of the heart unto the law of God eternal life, yea, though there be no

The gospel is the ministration of righteousness.

power yet in the members to fulfil it. Let every man therefore (according to Paul's counsel in the vith chapter to the Ephesians,) arm himself with the armour of God; that is to understand, with God's promises. And above all things (saith he) take unto you the shield of faith, wherewith ye may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked, that ye may be able to resist in the evil day of temptation, and namely at the hour of death.

Resist the devil with the shield of faith.

See therefore thou have God's promises in thine heart, and that thou believe them without wavering; and when temptation ariseth, and the devil layeth the law and thy deeds against thee, answer him with the promises, and turn to God, and confess thyself to him, and say, it is even so or else how could he be merciful? but remember that he is the God of mercy and of truth, and cannot but fulfil his promises. Also remember, that his son's blood is stronger than all the sins and wickedness of the whole world, and therewith quiet thyself, and thereunto commit thyself and bless thyself in all temptation, (namely at the hour of death) with that holy candle. Or else perishest thou, though thou hast a thousand holy candles about thee, a hundred ton of holy water, a ship full of pardons, a cloth-sack full of friar's coats, and all the ceremonies in the world, and all the good works, deservings, and merits of all the men in the world, be they, or were they, never so holy. God's word only lasteth for ever, and that which he hath sworn doth abide, when all other things perish. So long as thou findest any consent in thine heart unto the law of God, that it is righteous and good, and also displeasure that thou canst not fulfil it, despair not, neither doubt but that God's Spirit is in thee, and that thou art chosen for Christ's sake to the inheritance of eternal life.

Faith is the holy candle wherewith we must bless ourselves at the last hour.

Romans iii. And again, (Rom. iii.) We suppose that a man is justified through faith, without the deeds of the law. And likewise (Rom. iv.) we say that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness. Also (Rom. v.) seeing that we are justified through faith, we are at peace with God. Also (Rom x.)

Romans iv. Faith is accounted to us for righteousness.

with the heart doth a man believe to be made righteous. Also (Gal. iii.) received ye the Spirit by the deeds of the law, or by hearing of the faith? Doth he which ministereth the Spirit unto you, and worketh miracles among you, do it of the deeds of the law, or by hearing of faith? Even as Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned [to] him for righteousness. Understand therefore (saith he) that the children of faith are the children of Abraham. For the Scripture saw before that God would justify the heathen or gentiles by faith, and shewed before glad tidings unto Abraham, In thy seed shall all nations be blessed. Wherefore they which are of faith are blessed, that is to wit, made righteous with righteous Abraham. For as many as are of the deeds of the law, are under curse. For it is written (saith he) Cursed is every man that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law, to fulfil them.

Gal. iii.

The children of faith are the children of Abraham.

Also, (Gal. ii.) where he resisted Peter in the face, he saith, We which are Jews by nation, and not sinners of the Gentiles, know that a man is not justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, and have therefore believed on Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law, for by the deeds of the law shall no flesh be justified. Item, in the same place he saith, Touching that I now live, I live in the faith of the son of God, which loved me, and gave himself for me; I despise not the grace of God, for if righteousness come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain. And of such like ensamples are all the Epistles of Paul full. Mark how Paul laboureth with himself to express the exceeding mysteries of faith, in the Epistle to the Ephesians, and in the Epistle to the Colossians. Of these and many such like texts, are we sure that the forgiveness of sins and justifying [are] appropriate unto faith only, without the adding to of works.

Gal. ii.

Faith only justifieth us.

Take forth also the similitude that Christ maketh, (Mat. vii.) A good tree bringeth forth good fruit, and a bad tree

Mat. vii.

bringeth forth bad fruit. There seest thou, that the fruit maketh not the tree good, but the tree the fruit; and that the tree must aforehand be good, or be made good, ere it can bring forth good fruit. As he also saith, (Matt. xii.) Either make the tree good and his fruit good also, either make the tree bad and his fruit bad also. How can ye speak well while ye yourselves are evil? So likewise is this true, and nothing more true, that a man before all good works must first be good, and that it is impossible that works should make him good, if he were not good before, ere he did good works. For this is Christ's principle and (as we say) a general rule. How can ye speak well, while ye are evil? so likewise how can ye do good, while ye are evil?

Mat. xii.

A principle taught by Christ.

This is therefore a plain, and a sure conclusion not to be doubted of, that there must be first in the heart of a man before he do any good works, a greater and a more precious thing than all the good works in the world, to reconcile him to God, to bring the love and favour of God to him, to make him love God again, to make him righteous and good in the sight of God, to do away his sin, to deliver him and loose him out of that captivity wherein he was conceived and born, in which he could neither love God, neither the will of God. Or else how can he work any good work that should please God, if there were not some supernatural goodness in him given of God freely, whereof that good work must spring? even as a sick man must first be healed or made whole, ere he can do the deeds of an whole man; and as the blind man must first have sight given him ere he can see; and he that hath his feet in fetters, gives, or stocks, must first be loosed, ere he can go, walk or run, and even as they which thou readest of in the gospel, that they were possessed of the devils, could not laud God till the devils were cast out.

Faith being joined with the word of God, bringeth forth good fruit.

That precious thing which must be in the heart, ere a man can work any good work, is the word of God, which in the gospel preacheth, profereth, and bringeth unto all

that repent and believe, the favour of God in Christ. Whosoever heareth the word and believeth it, the same is thereby righteous, and thereby is given him the Spirit of God, which leadeth him unto all that is the will of God, and is loosed from the captivity and bondage of the devil, and his heart is free to love God, and hath lust to do the will of God. Therefore it is called the word of life, the word of grace, the word of health, the word of redemption, the word of forgiveness, and the word of peace; he that heareth it not, or believeth it not, can by no means be made righteous before God. This confirmeth Peter in the xvth of the Acts, saying that God through faith doth purify the hearts. For of what nature soever the word of God is, of the same nature must the hearts be which believe thereon, and cleave thereunto. Now is the word living, pure, righteous and true, and even so maketh it the hearts of them that believe thereon.

Acts xv.

IF it be said that Paul (when he saith in the iiird to the Romans, No flesh shall be, or can be justified by the deeds of the law) meaneth it of the ceremonies or sacrifices, it is a lie, verily. For it followeth immediately,—by the law cometh the knowledge of sin. Now are they not the ceremonies that utter sin, but the law of commandments. In the ivth he saith The law causeth wrath, which cannot be understood of the ceremonies, for they were given to reconcile the people to God again after they had sinned. If, as they say, the ceremonies which were given to purge sin and to reconcile, justify not, neither bless but temporally, much more the law of commandments justifieth not. For that which proveth a man sick, healeth him not, neither doth the cause of wrath bring to favour, neither can that which damneth save a man. When the mother commandeth her child but even to rock the cradle, it grudgeth, the commandment doth but utter the poison that lay hid, and setteth him at bate [contention] with his mother, and maketh him believe she loveth him not.

The law cannot justify us.

These commandments also, Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, thou shalt not lust, desire, or wish after thy neighbour's wife, servant, maid, ox, or ass, or whatsoever pertaineth unto thy neighbour, give me not power so to do, but utter the poison that is in me and damn me because I cannot so do, and prove that God is wrath with me, seeing that his will and mine are so contrary. Therefore saith Paul, (Gal. iii.) If there had been given such a law that could have given life, then no doubt righteousness had come by the law, but the Scripture concludeth all under sin (saith he) that the promise might be given unto them that believe through the faith that is in Jesus Christ.

Gal. iii.

Faith in Christ's promises doth justify us.

The promises, when they are believed, are they that justify, for they bring the Spirit which looseth the heart, giveth lust to the law, and certifieth us unto the good-will of God unto usward. If we submit ourselves unto God and desire him to heal us, he will do it, and will in the mean time (because of the consent of the heart unto the law) count us for full whole, and will no more hate us, but pity us, cherish us, be tender hearted to us, and love us as he doth Christ himself. Christ is our Redeemer, Saviour, peace, atonement and satisfaction, and hath made amends or satisfaction to Godward for all the sin which they that repent (consenting to the law and believing the promises) do, have done, or shall do. So that if through fragility we fall a thousand times in a day, yet if we do repent again, we have alway mercy laid up for us in store in Jesus Christ our Lord.

Christ is the store-house of mercy for us.

WHAT shall we say then to those Scriptures which go so sore upon good works? As we read Matt. xxv. I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat, &c. and such like. Which all sound as though we should be justified, and accepted unto the favour of God in Christ through good works. Thiswise answer I, Many there are, which when they hear or read of faith, at once they consent thereunto, and have a certain imagination or opinion of faith, as when

a man telleth a story or a thing done in a strange land, that pertaineth not to them at all. Which yet they believe, and tell as a true thing. And this imagination or opinion they call faith. They think no farther than that faith is a thing which standeth in their own power to have, as to do other natural works which men work; but they feel no manner [of] working of the Spirit, neither the terrible sentence of the law, the fearful judgments of God, the horrible damnation and captivity under Satan. Therfore as soon as they have this opinion, or imagination in their hearts, that saith, Verely this doctrine seemeth true, I believe it is even so. Then they think that the right faith is there. But afterward when they feel in themselves, and also see in other, that there is none alteration, and that the works follow not, but that they are altogether even as before, and abide in their old estate; then think they that faith is not sufficient, but that it must be some greater thing than faith that should justify a man.

The definition of true faith.

So fall they away from faith again, and cry, saying, Faith only justifieth not a man, and maketh him acceptable to God. If thou ask them, Wherefore? they answer, See how many there are that believe, and yet do no more than they did before. These are they which Jude in his epistle calleth dreamers which deceive themselves with their own fantasies. For what other thing is their imagination which they call faith, than a dreaming of faith, and an opinion of their own imagination wrought without the grace of God? These must needs be worse at the latter end than at the beginning. These are the old vessels that rent when new wine is poured into them; (Mat. ix.) that is, they hear God's word, but hold it not, and therefore wax worse than they were before. But the right [faith] springeth not of man's fantasy, neither is it in any man's power to obtain it, but is altogether the pure gift of God poured into us freely, without all manner [of] doing of us, without deserving and merits, yea and without seeking for of us. And is (as saith Paul in the second to the Ephesians) even

Faith that bringeth not forth fruit, is but a dream.

Mat. ix.

Faith is the gift of God.

Eph. ii.

God's gift and grace purchased through Christ. Therefore is it mighty in operation, full of virtue, and ever working, which also reneweth a man, and begetteth him afresh, altereth him, changeth him, and turneth him altogether into a new nature and conversation, so that a man feeleth his heart altogether altered and changed, and far otherwise disposed than before, and hath power to love that which before he could not but hate, and delighteth in that which before he abhorred, and hateth that which before he could not but love. And it setteth the soul at liberty, and maketh her free to follow the will of God, and doth to the soul even as health doth unto the body; after that a man is pined and wasted away with a long soaking disease, the legs cannot bear him, he cannot lift up his hands to help himself, his taste is corrupt, sugar is bitter in his mouth, his stomach abhorreth [meat,] longing after slibbersause and swash, at which a whole stomach is ready to cast his gorge. When health cometh, she changeth and altereth him clean, giveth him strength in all his members, and lust to do of his own accord that which before he could not do, neither could suffer that any man exhorted him to do, and hath now lust in other things, and his members are free and at liberty, and have power to do of their own accord all things, which belong to an whole man to do, which afore they had no power to do, but were in captivity and bondage. So likewise in all things doth right faith to the soul.

The Spirit of God accompanieth faith.

The Spirit of God accompanieth faith, and bringeth with her light, wherewith a man beholdeth himself in the law of God, and seeth his miserable bondage and captivity, and humbleth himself, and abhorreth himself; she bringeth God's promises of all good things in Christ. God worketh with his word, and in his word. And as his word is preached, faith rooteth herself in the hearts of the elect, and as faith entereth, and the word of God is believed, the power of God looseth the heart from the captivity and bondage under sin, and knitteth and coupleth him to God,

and to the will of God; altereth him, changeth him clean, fashioneth, and forgeth him anew, giveth him power to love, and to do that which before was impossible for him either to love or do, and turneth him unto a new nature, so that he loveth that which he before hated, and hateth that which he before loved; and is clean altered, and changed, and contrary disposed; and is knit and coupled fast to God's will, and naturally bringeth forth good works, that is to say, that which God commandeth to do, and not things of his own imagination. And that doth he of his own accord, as a tree bringeth forth fruit of her own accord. And as thou needest not to bid a tree to bring forth fruit, so is there no law put unto him that believeth, and is justified through faith (as saith Paul in the first Epistle to Timothy, the first chapter). Neither is it needful, for the law of God is written and graved in his heart, and his pleasure is therein. And as without commandment, but even of his own nature, he eateth, drinketh, seeth, heareth, talketh, and goeth, even so of his own nature, without coaction or compulsion of the law, bringeth he forth good works. And as a whole man, when he is athirst, tarrieth but for drink, and when he hungreth abideth but for meat, and then drinketh and eateth naturally; even so is the faithful ever athirst, and an hungred after the will of God, and tarrieth but for occasion. And whensoever an occasion is given, he worketh naturally the will of God: for this blessing is given to all them that trust in Christ's blood, that they thirst and hunger to do God's will. He that hath not this faith, is but an unprofitable babler of faith and works, and wotteth neither what he bableth, nor what he meaneth, or whereunto his words pertain: for he feeleth not the power of faith, nor the working of the Spirit in his heart, but interpreteth the Scriptures, which speak of faith and works, after his own blind reason and foolish fantasies, and not of any feeling that he hath in his heart;—as a man rehearseth a tale of another man's mouth, and wotteth not whether it be so or no, as he saith,

Faith of herself bringeth forth good fruits, that is, good works.

True faith is not without good works.

True faith and good works are the gift of God, and come not of ourselves.

nor hath any experience of the thing itself. Now doth the Scripture ascribe both faith and works, not to us, but to God only, to whom they belong only, and to whom they are appropriate, whose gift they are, and the proper work of his Spirit.

Is it not a froward and perverse blindness, to teach how a man can do nothing of his own self, and yet presumptuously take upon them the greatest and highest work of God, even to make faith in themselves of their own power, and of their own false imagination and thoughts? Therefore, I say, we must despair of ourselves, and pray God (as Christ's apostles did) to give us faith, and to encrease our faith. When we have that, we need no other thing more. For she bringeth the Spirit with her, and he not only teacheth us all things, but worketh them also mightily in us, and carrieth us through adversity, persecution, death, and hell, unto heaven and everlasting life.

MARK diligently, therefore, seeing we are come to answer. The Scripture, (because of such dreams and feigned faith's sake) useth such manner of speakings of works, not that a man should thereby be made good to God-ward, or justified; but to declare unto other, and to take of other the difference between false feigned faith, and right faith. For where right faith is, there bringeth she forth good works; if there follow not good works, it is (no doubt) but a dream and an opinion or feigned faith.

The difference between false faith, and right faith.

As the tree is known by his fruit, so right faith is known by her fruit.

Wherefore look, as the fruit maketh not the tree good, but declareth and testifieth outwardly that the tree is good, (as Christ saith) Every tree is known by his fruit; even so shall ye know the right faith by her fruit.

Example.

Take for an ensample Mary that anointed Christ's feet. (Luke vii.) When Simon which had Christ to his house had condemned her, Christ defended her, and justified her, saying, Simon, I have a certain thing to say unto thee, and he said, Master, say on. There was a certain lender which had two debtors, the one owed five hundred pence, and

the other fifty. When they had nothing to pay, he forgave both. Which of them, tell me, will love him most? Simon answered and said, I suppose that he to whom he forgave most. And he said to him, Thou hast truly judged. And he turned him to the woman, and said unto Simon, Seest thou this woman? I entered into thine house, and thou gavest me no water to my feet; but she hath washed my feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head. Thou gavest me no kiss, but she, since the time I came in, hath not ceased to kiss my feet. My head with oil thou hast not anointed. And she hath anointed my feet with costly and precious ointment. Wherefore I say unto thee, many sins are forgiven her, for she loveth much. To whom less is forgiven, the same doth love less, &c. Hereby, see we, that deeds and works are but outward signs of the inward grace of the bounteous and plenteous mercy of God, freely received without all merits of deeds, yea, and before all deeds. Christ teacheth to know the inward faith and love, by the outward deeds. Deeds are the fruits of love, and love is the fruit of faith. Love, and also the deeds, are great or small, according to the proportion of faith. Where faith is mighty and strong, there is love fervent, and deeds plenteous, and done with exceeding meekness: where faith is weak, there is love cold, and the deeds few, and seldom bear flowers and blossoms in winter.

The fruits of faith.

Simon believed, and had faith yet but weakly, and according to the proportion of his faith loved coldly, and had deeds thereafter: he had Christ unto a simple and bare feast only, and received him not with any great humanity. But Mary had a strong faith, and therefore burning love, and honourable deeds, done with exceeding profound and deep meekness. On the one side she saw herself clearly in the law, both in what danger she was in, and her cruel bondage under sin, her horrible damnation, and also the fearful sentence and judgment of God upon sinners. On the other side she heard the gospel of Christ preached, and in the

A difference between true faith and feigned faith.

promises she saw with eagles' eyes the exceeding abundant mercy of God that passeth all utterance of speech, which is set forth in Christ for all meek sinners which knowledge their sins; and she believed the word of God mightily, and glorified God over his mercy and truth; and being overcome and overwhelmed with the unspeakable, yea, and incomprehensible abundant riches of the kindness of God, did inflame and burn in love; yea, was so swollen in love, that she could not abide, nor hold, but must break out; and was so drunk in love that she regarded nothing, but even to utter the fervent and burning love of her heart only; she had no respect to herself, though she was never so great and notable a sinner; neither to the curious hypocrisy of the Pharisees, which ever disdain weak sinners; neither the costliness of her ointment; but with all humbleness did run unto his feet; washed them with the tears of her eyes, and wiped them with the hairs of her head, and anointed them with her precious ointment; yea, and would no doubt have run into the ground under his feet, to have uttered her love toward him; yea would have descended down into hell, if it had been possible. Even as Paul in the ixth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans was drunk in love, and overwhelmed with the plenteousness of the infinite mercy of God, (which he had received in Christ unsought for) wished himself banished from Christ and damned, to save the Jews, if it might have been. For as a man feeleth God in himself, so is he to his neighbour.

Rom. ix.

Mark another thing also. We, for the most part, because of our grossness in all our knowledge, proceed from that which is last and hindmost, unto that which is first; beginning at the latter end, disputing and making our arguments backward. We begin at the effect, and work and proceed unto the natural cause. As for an ensample: we first see the moon dark, and then search the cause, and find that the putting of the earth between the sun and the moon is the natural cause of the darkness, and that the earth stoppeth the light. Then dispute we backward, saying, the moon is darkened, there-

Backward disputations.

fore is the earth directly between the sun and moon. Now yet is not the darkness of the moon the natural cause that the earth is between the sun and the moon, but the effect thereof, and cause declarative, declaring and leading us unto the knowledge, how that the earth is between the sun and the moon directly, and causeth the darkness, stopping the light of the sun from the moon. And contrarywise, the being of the earth directly between the sun and the moon is the natural cause of the darkness. Likewise he hath a son, therefore is he a father, and yet the son is not cause of the father, but contrarywise. Notwithstanding, the son is the cause declarative, whereby we know that the other is a father. After the same manner here, many sins are forgiven her, for she loveth much, thou mayest not understand by the word for, that love is the natural cause of the forgiving of sins, but declareth it only; and contrariwise, the forgiveness of sins is the natural cause of love.

The works declare love. And love declareth that there is some benefit and kindness shewed, or else would there be no love. Why worketh one and another not? or one more than another? because that one loveth and the other not, or that the one loveth more than the other. Why loveth one and another not, or one more than another? because that one feeleth the exceeding love of God in his heart and another not, or that one feeleth it more than another. Scripture speaketh after the most gross manner. Be diligent therefore that thou be not deceived, with curiousness, for men of no small reputation have been deceived with their own sophistry.

The kindness of God moveth us to love God.

HEREBY now seest thou, that there is great difference between being righteous and good in a man's self, and declaring and uttering righteousness and goodness. The faith only maketh a man safe, good, righteous, and the friend of God, yea, and the son and the heir of God, and of all his goodness, and possesseth us with the Spirit of God. The work declareth the self faith and goodness. Now useth the Scripture the common manner of speaking,

Faith only maketh us the sons and heirs of God.

Faith possesseth the Spirit of God.

and the very same that is among the people. As when a father saith to his child, Go, and be loving, merciful, and good to such or such a poor man, he biddeth him not therewith to be made merciful, kind, and good, but to testify and declare the goodness that is in him already, with the outward deed, that it may break out to the profit of other, and that other may feel it which have need thereof.

Works declare faith and God's goodness.

After the same manner shalt thou interpret the Scriptures which make mention of works: that God thereby will that we show forth that goodness which we have received by faith, and let it break forth and come to the profit of other, that the false faith may be known and weeded out by the roots. For God giveth no man his grace that he should let it lay still and do no good withal, but that he should encrease it and multiply it with lending it to others, and with open declaring of it with the outward works, provoke and draw others to God. As Christ saith in Matthew the vth. chapter, Let your light so shine in the sight of men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven. Or else where it is a treasure digged in the ground, and hid wisdom, in which what profit is there?

God's grace is to be exercised in us.

Moreover therewith the goodness, favour, and gifts of God which are in thee, not only shall be known unto other, but also unto thine own self, and thou shalt be sure that thy faith is right, and that the true Spirit of God is in thee, and that thou art called and chosen of God unto eternal life, and loosed from the bonds of Satan, whose captive thou wast; as Peter exhorteth in the First of his Second Epistle, through good works to make our calling and election (wherewith we are called and chosen of God) sure. For how dare a man presume to think that his faith is right, and that God's favour is on him, and that God's Spirit is in him, when he feeleth not the working of the Spirit, neither himself disposed to any godly thing? Thou canst never know or be sure of thy faith but by the works, if works follow not, yea, and that of love, without loooking after any reward, thou mayest be sure that thy faith is but a dream,

Where true faith is, good works follow.

and not right, and even the same that James called in his Epistle, the second chapter, dead faith and not justifying.

Abraham through works, (Genesis xxiind) was sure of his faith to be right, and that the true fear of God was in him, when he had offered his son, as the Scripture saith, Now know I that thou fearest God, that is to say, now is it open and manifest that thou fearest God, inasmuch as thou hast not spared thy only son for my sake. Gen. xxii.

So now by this abide sure and fast, that a man inwardly in the heart and before God, is righteous and good through faith only, before all works: notwithstanding, yet outwardly and openly before the people, yea, and before himself, is he righteous through the work, that is, he knoweth and is sure through the outward work that he is a true believer, and in the favour of God, and righteous and good through the mercy of God: that thou mayest call the one an open and an outward righteousness, and the other, an inward righteousness of the heart; so yet, that thou understand by the outward righteousness, no other thing save the fruit that followeth, and a declaring of the inward justifying and righteousness of the heart, and not that it maketh a man righteous before God, but that he must be first righteous before him in the heart; even as thou mayest call the fruit of the tree the outward goodness of the tree, which followeth and uttereth the inward natural goodness of the tree.

The outward righteousness and the inward righteousness what they are.

This meaneth James in his Epistle, where he saith, Faith without works is dead, that is, if works follow not, it is a sure and an evident sign that there is no faith in the heart, but a dead imagination and dream, which they falsely call faith.

Of the same wise is this saying of Christ to be understood: Make you friends of the unrighteous mammon, that is, shew your faith openly and what ye are within in the heart, with outward giving and bestowing your goods on the poor, that ye may obtain friends; that is, that the poor on whom thou hast showed mercy may at the day of judgment, testify and witness of thy good works. That thy faith and what

Outward works declare where true faith is.

thou wast within thy heart before God, may there appear by thy fruits openly to all men. For unto the right believing shall all things be comfortable, and unto consolation, at that terrible day: and contrariwise unto the unbelieving, all things shall be unto desperation and confusion, and every man shall be judged openly and outwardly, in the presence of all men, according to their deeds and works. So that not without a cause thou mayest call them thy friends which testify at that day of thee, that thou livedst as a true and a right christian man, and followedst the steps of Christ in shewing mercy, as no doubt he doth which feeleth God merciful in his heart. And by the works is the faith known, that it was right and perfect. For the outward works can never please God, nor make friend, except they spring of faith. Forasmuch as Christ himself (Matt. vi. and vii.) disalloweth and casteth away the works of the Pharisees, yea, prophesying and working of miracles and casting out of devils, which we count and esteem for very excellent virtues, yet make they no friends with their works, while their hearts are false and impure, and their eye double. Now without faith is no heart true or eye single, so that we are compelled to confess that the works make not a man righteous or good, but that the heart must first be righteous and good, ere any good work proceed thence.

Good works are witnesses for us before God.

Matt. vi. and vii.

SECONDARILY, all good works must be done free with a single eye, without respect of any thing, and that no profit be sought thereby.

Matt. x.

That commandeth Christ, where he saith, (Mat. x.) Freely have ye received, freely give again. For look, as Christ with all his works did not deserve heaven, for that was his already, but did us service therewith, and neither looked, nor sought his own profit, but our profit, and the honour of God the Father only; even so we, with all our works, may not seek our own profit neither in this world nor in heaven, but must, and ought, freely to work to honour God withal, and without all manner [of] respect, seek our

We must of duty do good works without hope of reward.

neighbour's profit, and do him service. That meaneth Paul (Phil. ii.) saying, Be minded as Christ was, which being in the shape of God, equal unto God, and even very God, laid that apart, that is to say hid it, and took on him the form and fashion of a servant. That is, as concerning himself he had enough, that he was full and had all plenteousness of the Godhead, and in all his works sought our profit, and became our servant.

The cause is: forasmuch as faith justifieth and putteth away sin in the sight of God, bringeth life, health, and the favour of God, maketh us the heirs of God, poureth the Spirit of God into our souls, and filleth us with all godly fulness in Christ; it were too great a shame, rebuke and wrong unto the faith, yea to Christ's blood, if a man would work any thing to purchase that wherewith faith hath endued him already, and God hath given him freely. Even as Christ had done rebuke and shame unto himself, if he would have done good works, and wrought to have been made thereby God's son and heir over all, which thing he was already. Now doth faith make us the sons or children of God. (John i.) He gave them might or power to be the sons of God, in that they believed on his name. If we be sons, so are we also heirs. (Rom. viii. and Gal. iv.) How can or ought we then to work for to purchase that inheritance withal, whereof we are heirs already by faith?

Faith maketh us the sons and children of God. Rom. viii. Gal. iv.

What shall we say then to those Scriptures, which sound as though a man should do good works, and live well for heaven's sake or eternal reward? As these are, Make you friends of the unrighteous mammon. And (Mat. vii.) Gather you treasures together in heaven. Also (Mat. xix.) If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments: and such like. This say I, that they which understand not, neither feel in their hearts what faith meaneth, talk and think of the reward, even as they do of the work; neither suppose they that a man ought to work, but in a respect to the reward. For they imagine, that it is in the kingdom of Christ, as it is in the world among men, that

Mat. vii.

Mat. xix.

They that seek heaven for their works are such as understand not the treasures of Christ.

they must deserve heaven with their good works. Howbeit their thoughts are but dreams and false imaginations. Of these men speaketh Malachi (chap. i.) Who is it among you that shutteth a door for my pleasure for nought, that is without respect of reward? These are servants that seek gains and vantage, hirelings and day labourers, which here on earth receive their rewards, as the Pharisees with their prayers and fastings. (Mat. v.)

Mat. v.

As good works naturally follow faith, so eternal life followeth faith and good living.

But on this wise goeth it with heaven, with everlasting life and eternal reward: likewise as good works naturally follow faith (as it is above rehearsed) so that thou needest not to command a true believer to work, or to compel him with any law, for it is unpossible that he should not work; he tarrieth but for an occasion; he is ever disposed of himself, thou needest but to put him in remembrance, and that to know the false faith from the true. Even so naturally doth eternal life follow faith and good living, without seeking for, and is impossible that it should not come, though no man thought thereon. Yet is it rehearsed in the Scripture, alleged and promised to know the difference between a false believer and a true believer, and that every man may know what followeth good living naturally and of itself, without taking thought for it.

As good works follow faith, so hell followeth evil works.

Take a gross ensample: hell, that is, everlasting death, is threatened unto sinners, and yet followeth it sin naturally without seeking for. For no man doth evil to be damned therefore, but had rather avoid it. Yet there the one followeth the other naturally, and though no man told or warned him of it, yet should the sinner find it and feel it. Nevertheless it is therefore threatened, that men may know what followeth evil living. Now then as after evil living followeth his reward unsought for, even so after good living followeth his reward naturally unsought for, or unthought upon. Even as when thou drinkest wine, be it good or bad, the taste followeth of itself, though thou therefore drink it not. Yet testifieth the Scripture, and it is true, that we are by inheritance heirs of damnation; and that

ere we be born, we are vessels of the wrath of God, and full of that poison whence naturally all sins spring; and wherewith we cannot but sin, which thing the deeds that follow (when we behold ourselves in the glass of the law of God) do declare and utter, kill our consciences, and show us what we were and wist not of it, and certifieth us that we are heirs of damnation. For if we were of God we should cleave to God, and lust after the will of God. But now our deeds compared to the law declare the contrary, and by our deeds we see ourselves, both what we be and what our end shall be.

Of ourselves we are the vessels of the wrath of God, and the heirs of damnation.

So now thou seest that life eternal and all good things are promised unto faith and belief; so that he that believeth on Christ shall be safe. Christ's blood hath purchased life for us, and hath made us the heirs of God; so that heaven cometh by Christ's blood. If thou wouldst obtain heaven with the merits and deservings of thine own works, so didst thou wrong, yea, and shamedst the blood of Christ, and unto thee were Christ dead in vain. Now is the true believer heir of God by Christ's deservings, yea, and in Christ was predestinate and ordained unto eternal life before the world began. And when the gospel is preached unto us, we believe the mercy of God, and in believing we receive the Spirit of God, which is the earnest of eternal life, and we are in eternal life already, and feel already in our hearts the sweetness thereof, and are overcome with the kindness of God and Christ, and therefore love the will of God, and of love are ready to work freely, and not to obtain that which is given us freely, and whereof we are heirs already.

To believe Christ is salvation.

To seek heaven by good works were to derogate the dignity of the blood of Christ.

Now when Christ saith, Make you friends of unrighteous Mammon: Gather you treasure together in heaven, and such like: thou seest that the meaning and intent is no other but that thou shouldst do good, and so will it follow of itself naturally, without seeking and taking of thought, that thou shalt find friends and treasure in heaven, and receive a reward. So let thine eye be single, and look

unto good living only, and take no thought for the reward, but be content. Forasmuch as thou knowest and art sure that the reward and all things contained in God's promises follow good living naturally; and thy good works do but testify only, and certify thee that the Spirit of God is in thee, whom thou hast received in earnest of God's truth; and that thou art heir of all the goodness of God, and that all good things are thine already, purchased by Christ's blood, and laid up in store against that day, when every man shall receive according to his deeds, that is according as his deeds declare and testify, what he is or was. For they that look unto the reward, are slow, false, subtle and crafty workers, and love the reward more than the work, yea, hate the labour, yea, hate God which commandeth the labour, and are weary both of the commandment, and also of the Commander, and work with tediousness. But he that worketh of pure love, without seeking of reward, worketh truly.

All that is good is purchased for us by Christ.

Thirdly, that not the saints, but God only receiveth us into eternal tabernacles, is so plain and evident, that it needeth not to declare or prove it. How shall the saints receive us into heaven, when every man hath need for himself that God only receive him to heaven, and every man hath scarce for himself? As it appeareth by the five wise virgins, (Mat. xxv.) which would not give of their oil unto the unwise virgins. And Peter saith in the ivth of his first Epistle, that the righteous is with difficulty saved. So seest thou the saying of Christ, Make you friends, and so forth, that they may receive you into everlasting tabernacles, pertaineth not unto the saints which are in heaven, but is spoken of the poor and needy which are here present with us on earth: as though he should say, What, buildest thou churches, foundest abbeys, chauntries and colleges, in the honour of saints, to my Mother, St. Peter, Paul, and saints that be dead, to make of them thy friends? They need it not, yea, they are not thy friends, but theirs which lived then when they did, of whom they were holpen.

Saints cannot help us into heaven.

Mat. xxv.

1 Pet. iv.

Thy friends are the poor, which are now in thy time, and live with thee; thy poor neighbours which need thy help and succour. Them make thy friends with thy unrighteous mammon, that they may testify of thy faith, and thou mayest know and feel that thy faith is right and not feigned.

How we may make friends of the wicked mammon.

UNTO the second, such receiving into everlasting habitations is not to be understood that men shall do it. For many, to whom we shew mercy and do good, shall not come there; neither skilleth it so we meekly and lovingly do our duty, yea, it is a sign of strong faith and fervent love, if we do well to the evil, and study to draw them to Christ in all that lieth in us. But the poor give us an occasion to exercise our faith, and the deeds make us feel our faith, and certify us and make us sure that we are safe, and are escaped and translated from death unto life, and that we are delivered and redeemed from the captivity and bondage of Satan, and brought into the liberty of the sons of God, in that we feel lust and strength in our heart to work the will of God. And at that day shall our deeds appear and comfort our hearts, witness our faith and trust, which we now have in Christ, which faith shall then keep us from shame, as it is written, None that believeth in him shall be ashamed, (Rom. ix.) So that good works help our faith, and make us sure in our consciences, and make us feel the mercy of God. Notwithstanding, heaven, everlasting life, joy eternal, faith, the favour of God, the Spirit of God, lust and strength unto the will of God, are given us freely of the bounteous and plenteous riches of God, purchased by Christ, without our deservings, that no man should rejoice but in the Lord only.

To do good to such as are evil, is commendable.

Rom. ix.

All our righteousness cometh freely from Christ.

FOR a farther understanding of this gospel, here may be made three questions, What mammon is, Why it is called unrighteous, and after what manner Christ biddeth us counterfeit and follow the unjust and wicked steward, which with his Lord's damage provided for his own profit and vantage, which thing no doubt is unrighteous and sin?

Mammon what it is.

First, *mammon* is an Hebrew word, and signifies riches or temporal goods, and namely, all superfluity, and all that is above necessity, and that which is required unto our necessary uses, wherewith a man may help another without undoing or hurting himself; for Hamon, in the Hebrew speech, signifies a multitude or abundance, or many, and there hence cometh mahamon, or mammon, abundance or plenteousness of good or riches.

Secondarily, it is called unrighteous mammon, not because it is got unrighteously, or with usury, for of unrighteous gotten goods can no man do good works, but ought to restore them home again. As it is said (Isaiah lxi.) I am a God that hateth offering that cometh of robbery; and Solomon (Prov. iii.) saith, Honour the Lord of thine own good. But therefore it is called unrighteous, because it is in unrighteous use. As Paul speaketh unto the Ephesians vth. how that The days are evil though that God hath made them, and they are a good work of God's making. Howbeit they are yet called evil, because that evil men use them amiss, and much sin, occasions of evil, peril of souls are wrought in them. Even so are riches called evil because that evil men bestow them amiss and misuse them. For where riches are there goeth it after the common proverb, He that hath money hath what him listeth. And they cause fighting, stealing, laying await, lying, flattering, and all unhappiness against a man's neighbour. For all men hold on riches' part.

Isaiah lxi.

Prov. iii.

Ephes. v.

The days are called evil, because evil men use them.

But singularly before God is it called unrighteous mammon, because it is not bestowed and ministered unto our neighbour's need. For if my neighbour need and I give him not, neither depart liberally with him of that which I have, then withhold I from him unrighteously that which is his own. For as much as I am bounden to help him by the law of nature, which is Whatsoever thou wouldest that another did to thee, that do thou also to him; and Christ (Matt. v.) Give to every man that desireth thee; and John in his first Epistle, If a man have this world's good and see his brother

We are bound by the law of nature to help our needy neighbour.

need, how is the love of God in him? And this unrighteousness in our mammon see very few men: because it is spiritual, and in those goods which are gotten most truly and justly, which beguile men. For they suppose they do no man wrong in keeping them, in that they got them not with stealing, robbing, oppression, and usury, neither hurt any man now with them.

Thirdly, many have busied themselves in studying what, or who, this unrighteous steward is, because that Christ so praiseth him. But shortly and plainly this is the answer. That Christ praiseth not the unrighteous steward, neither setteth him forth to us to counterfeit because of his unrighteousness, but because of his wisdom only, in that he, with unright, so wisely provided for himself. As if I would provoke another to pray or study, say, The thieves watch all night to rob and steal, why canst not thou watch to pray and to study? here praise not I the thief and murderer for their evil doing, but for their wisdom, that they so wisely and diligently wait on their unrighteousness. Likewise when I say miss women tire themselves with gold and silk to please their lovers: what wilt not thou garnish thy soul with faith to please Christ? here praise I not whoredom, but the diligence which the whore misuseth.

The unrighteous steward, who it is.

On this wise Paul also (Rom. v.) likeneth Adam and Christ together, saying that Adam was a figure of Christ. And yet of Adam have we but pure sin, and of Christ grace only, which are out of measure contrary. But the similitude or likeness standeth in the original birth, and not in the virtue and vice of the birth. So that as Adam is father of all sin, so is Christ father of all righteousness: and as all sinners spring of Adam, even so all righteous men and women spring of Christ. After the same manner is here the unrighteous steward an ensample unto us, in his wisdom and diligence only, in that he provided so wisely for himself, that we with righteousness should be as diligent to provide for our souls as he with unrighteousness provided for his body.

Christ is the Father of all righteousness.

Likewise mayest thou solve all other texts which sound as though it were between us and God, as it is in the world, where the reward is more looked upon than the labour; yea, where men hate the labour, and work falsely with the body and not with the heart, and no longer than they are looked upon, that the labour may appear outward only.

Matt. v.

WHEN Christ saith (Matt. v.) Blessed are ye when they rail on you, and persecute you, and say all manner [of] evil sayings against you, and yet lie, and that for my sake, rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven. Thou mayest not imagine that our deeds deserve the joy and glory that shall be given unto us, for then Paul saith (Rom, xi.) Favour were not favour, I cannot receive it of favour and of the bounties of God freely, and by deserving of deeds also. But believe as the gospel, glad tidings and promises of God say unto thee, that for Christ's blood sake only, through faith, God is at one with thee, and thou received to mercy, and art become the son of God and heir annexed with Christ, of all the goodness of God, the earnest whereof is the Spirit of God poured into our hearts. Of which things the deeds are witnesses, and certify our consciences that our faith is unfeigned, and that the right Spirit of God is in us. For if I patiently suffer adversity and tribulation for conscience of God only, that is to say, because I know God and testify the truth, then am I sure that God hath chosen me in Christ and for Christ's sake, and hath put in me his Spirit as an earnest of his promises, whose working I feel in mine heart, the deeds bearing witness unto the same. Now is it Christ's blood only that deserved all the promises of God, and that which I suffer and do, is partly the curing, healing, and mortifying of my members, and killing of that original poison, wherewith I was conceived and born, that I might be altogether like Christ, and partly the doing of my duty to my neighbour, whose debtor I am of all that I have received of God; to draw him to Christ with all suffering, with all patience, and

For Christ's blood sake, only through faith, God is at one with us.

even with shedding my blood for him, not as an offering or merit for his sins, but as an ensample to provoke him. Christ's blood only putteth away all the sin that ever was, is, or shall be, from them that are elect and repent, believing the gospel, that is to say, God's promises in Christ.

Christ's blood only putteth away all sin.

AGAIN in the same vth chapter, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do well to them that hate you and persecute you, that ye may be sons of your father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun shine upon evil, and on good, and sendeth his rain upon just and unjust. Not that our works make us the sons of God, but testify only, and certify our consciences, that we are the sons of God, and that God hath chosen us, and washed us in Christ's blood, and hath put his Spirit in us. And it followeth, If ye love them that love you, what reward have ye? do not the Publicans even the same? and if ye shall have favour to your friends only, what singular thing do ye? do not the Publicans even the same? Ye shall be perfect therefore, as your Father which is in heaven is perfect. That is to say, if that ye do nothing but that the world doth, and they which have the spirit of the world, whereby shall ye know that ye are the sons of God, and beloved of God more than the world? But, and if ye counterfeit, and follow God in well doing, then no doubt it is a sign that the Spirit of God is in you, and also the favour of God, which is not in the world, and that ye are inheritors of all the promises of God, and elect unto the fellowship of the blood of Christ.

We must follow Christ in well doing.

ALSO (Matt. vi.) Take heed to your alms, that ye do it not in the sight of men, to the intent that ye would be seen of them, or else have ye no reward with your Father which is in heaven. Neither cause a trumpet to be blown afore thee when thou doest thine alms, as the hypocrites

Matt. vi.

We may not do good works to be praised of the world.

do in the synagogues, and in the streets, to be glorified of the world. But when thou doest thine alms, let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth; that thy alms may be in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret shall reward thee openly. This putteth us in remembrance of our duty, and sheweth what followeth good works; not that works deserve it, but that the reward is laid up for us in store, and we thereunto elect through Christ's blood, which the works testify: for, if we be worldly minded, and do our works as the world doth, how shall we know that God hath chosen us out of the world? But and if we work freely, without all manner [of] worldly respect,

We must do to our neighbour as God is to us.

to shew mercy, and to do our duty to our neighbour, and to be unto him as God is to us, then are we sure that the favour and mercy of God is upon us, and that we shall enjoy all the good promises of God through Christ, which hath made us heirs thereof.

ALSO, in the same chapter it followeth, When thou prayest,

Hypocrites seek to be praised of men.

be not as the hypocrites, which love to stand and pray in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets, for to be seen of men. But when thou prayest, enter into thy chamber, and shut thy door to, and pray to thy Father which is in secret, and thy Father which seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly. And likewise, when we fast (teacheth Christ in the same place) that we should behave ourselves that it appear not unto men how that we fast, but unto our Father which is in secret, and our Father which seeth in secret, shall reward us openly. These two texts do but declare what followeth good works, for eternal life cometh not by the deserving of works, but is, (saith Paul, in the vith to

Rom. vi.

the Romans) the gift of God through Jesus Christ. Neither do our works justify us. For except we were justified

Faith only justifieth us and no good works can be done without faith.

by faith which is our righteousness, and had the Spirit of God in us, to teach us, we could do no good work freely, without respect of some profit, either in this world, or in the world to come; neither could we have spiritual

joy in our hearts in time of affliction, and mortifying of the flesh.

Good works are called the fruits of the Spirit, (Gal. v.) for the Spirit worketh them in us, and sometime fruits of righteousness, as in the second Epistle to the Corinthians and ixth chapter. Before all works therefore, we must have a righteousness within in the heart, the mother of all works, and from whence they spring. The righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, and of them that have the spirit of this world, is the glorious shew and outward shining of works. But Christ saith to us (Mat. v.) Except your righteousness exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. It is righteousness in the world if a man kill not. But a christian perceiveth righteousness if he love his enemy, even when he suffereth persecution and torment of him, and the pains of death, and mourneth more for his adversary's blindness than for his own pain, and prayeth God to open his eyes and to forgive him his sins, as did Stephen in the Acts of the Apostles the viith chapter, and Christ, Luke xxiii.

Good works are the fruits of faith.

True righteousness what it is.

Acts vii.

Luke xxiii.

A Christian considereth himself in the law of God, and there putteth off him all manner [of] righteousness. For the law suffereth no merits, no deservings, no righteousness, neither any man to be justified in the sight of God. The law is spiritual and requireth the heart and commandments to be fulfilled with such love and obedience as was in Christ. If any fulfil all that is the will of God with such love and obedience, the same may be bold to sell pardons of his merits, and else not.

A Christian therefore when he beholdeth himself in the law, putteth off all manner [of] righteousness, deservings and merits, and meekly and unfeignedly knowledgeth his sin and misery, his captivity and bondage in the flesh, his trespass and guilt, and is thereby blessed with the poor in spirit. (Mat. chap. v.) Then he mourneth in his heart, because he is in such bondage that he cannot do the will of

God, and is an hungred and athirst after righteousness. For righteousness (I mean) which springeth out of Christ's blood, for strength to do the will of God. And turneth himself to the promises of God, and desireth him for his great mercy and truth, and for the blood of his son Christ to fulfil his promises and to give him strength. And thus his Spirit ever prayeth within him. He fasteth also not one day for a week, or a lent for an whole year, but professeth in his heart a perpetual soberness, to tame the flesh, and to subdue the body to the Spirit, until he wax strong in the Spirit, and grow ripe into a full righteousness after the fulness of Christ. And because this fulness happeneth not till the body be slain by death, a christian is ever a sinner in the law, and therefore fasteth and prayeth to God in the Spirit, the world seeing it not. Yet in the promises he is ever righteous through faith in Christ, and is sure that he is heir of all God's promises, the Spirit which he hath received in earnest, bearing him witness, his heart also, and his deeds testifying the same.

True righteousness springeth out of Christ's blood.

True fasting what it is.

Mark this then: To see inwardly that the law of God is so spiritual, that no flesh can fulfil it. And then for to mourn and sorrow and to desire, yea to hunger and thirst after strength to do the will of God from the ground of the heart, and, (notwithstanding all the subtilty of the devil, weakness and feebleness of the flesh, and wondering of the world,) to cleave yet to the promises of God, and to believe that for Christ's blood sake thou art received to the inheritance of eternal life, is a wonderful thing, and a thing that the world knoweth not of; but whosoever feeleth that, though he fall a thousand times in a day, doth yet rise again a thousand times, and is sure that the mercy of God is upon him.

No flesh can fulfil th elaw.

IF ye forgive other men their trespasses, your heavenly Father shall forgive you yours. (Mat. chap. vi.) If I forgive, God shall forgive me, not for my deeds' sake, but for his promises' sake, for his mercy and truth, and for the

We cannot deserve forgiveness of God.

blood of his Son, Christ our Lord. And my forgiving certifieth my spirit that God shall forgive me, yea that he hath forgiven me already. For if I consent to the will of God in my heart, though through infirmity and weakness I cannot do the will of God at all times; moreover though I cannot do the will of God so purely as the law requireth it of me, yet if I see my fault and meekly knowledge my sin, weeping in mine heart, because I cannot do the will of God; and thirst after strength, I am sure that the Spirit of God is in me, and his favour upon me. For the world lusteth not to do the will of God, neither sorroweth because he cannot, though he sorrow some time for fear of the pain that he believeth shall follow. He that hath the spirit of this world cannot forgive without amends making, or a greater vantage. If I forgive now how cometh it? Verily because I feel the mercy of God in me. For as a man feeleth God to himself, so is he to his neighbour. I know by mine own experience, that all flesh is in bondage under sin, and cannot but sin, therefore am I merciful, and desire God to loose the bonds of sin even in mine enemy.

But he of his mercy pardoneth us.

GATHER not treasure together in earth, &c. (Mat. vi.) but gather you treasure in heaven, &c. Let not your hearts be glued to worldly things, study not to heap treasure upon treasure, and riches upon riches, but study to bestow well that which is gotten already, and let your abundance succour the lack and need of the poor which have not. Have an eye to good works, to which if ye have lust and also power to do them, then are ye sure that the Spirit of God is in you, and ye in Christ elect to the reward of eternal life which followeth good works. But look that thine eye be single and rob not Christ of his honour, ascribe not that to the deserving of thy works, which is given thee freely by the merits of his blood. In Christ we are sons; in Christ we are heirs; in Christ God chose us and elected us before the beginning of the world, created us anew by the word of the gospel, and put his Spirit in

Mat. vi.

A true bestowing of alms.

In Christ we are all in all.

us for because we should do good works. A Christian man worketh, because it is the will of his Father only. If we do no good work, nor be merciful, how is our lust therein? If we have no lust to do good works, how is God's Spirit in us? If the Spirit of God be not in us, how are we his sons? How are we his heirs, and heirs annexed with Christ of the eternal life, which is promised to all them that believe in him? Now do our works testify and witness what we are, and what treasure is laid up for us in heaven, so that our eye be single, and look upon the commandment without respect of any thing save because it is God's will, and that God desireth it of us, and Christ hath deserved that we do it.

We must do good works because it is God's will that we should do them.

Not all they that say unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven. (Mat. vii.) Though thou canst laud God with thy lips, and call Christ Lord, and canst babble and talk of the Scripture, and knowest all the stories of the Bible, yet shalt thou thereby never know thine election, or whether thy faith be right. But if thou feel lust in thine heart to the will of God, and bringest forth the fruits thereof, then hast thou confidence and hope; and thy deeds, and also the Spirit whence thy deeds spring certify thine heart that thou shalt enter, yea, art already entered into the kingdom of heaven. For it followeth, He that heareth the word and doth it buildeth his house upon a rock, and no tempest of temptations can overthrow it. For the Spirit of God is in his heart and comforteth him, and holdeth him fast to the rock of the merits of Christ's blood, in whom he is elect. Nothing is able to pluck him out of the hands of God, God is stronger than all things. And contrariwise, he that heareth the word, and doth it not, buildeth on the sand of his own imagination, and every tempest overthroweth his building. The cause is, he hath not God's Spirit in him, and therefore understandeth it not aright, neither worketh aright. For no man knoweth the things of God (saith

We must hear the word of God and do it.

Paul in the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians in the iind chapter) save the Spirit of God, as no man knoweth what is in a man but a man's spirit which is in him. So then if the Spirit be not in a man he worketh not the will of God, neither understandeth it, though he babble never so much of the Scriptures. Nevertheless such a man may work after his own imagination, but God's will can he not work, he may offer sacrifice, but to do mercy knoweth he not. It is easy to say unto Christ, Lord, Lord, but thereby shalt thou never feel or be sure of the kingdom of heaven. But and if thou do the will of God, then art thou sure that Christ is thy Lord indeed and that thou in him art also a lord, in that thou feelest thyself loosed and freed from the bondage of sin, and lusty and of power to do the will of God. 1 Cor. ii.

Where the Spirit is there is feeling; for the Spirit maketh us feel all things. Where the Spirit is not there is no feeling, but a vain opinion or imagination. A physician serveth but for sick men, and that for such sick men as feel their sicknesses, and mourn therefore and long for health. Christ likewise serveth but for sinners only as feel their sin, and that for such sinners that sorrow and mourn in their hearts for health. Health is power or strength to fulfil the law, or to keep the commandments. Now he that longeth for that health, that is to say, for to do the law of God, is blessed in Christ, and hath a promise that his lust shall be fulfilled, and that he shall be made whole. (Matt. v.) Blessed are they which hunger and thirst for righteousness' sake, (that is, to fulfil the law,) for their lust shall be fulfilled. This longing and consent of the heart unto the law of God, is the working of the Spirit which God hath poured into thine heart, in earnest that thou mightest be sure that God will fulfil all his promises that he hath made thee. It is also the seal and mark which God putteth on all men that he choseth unto everlasting life. So long as thou seest thy sin and mournest and consentest to the law, and longest (though thou be never so weak) yet the Spirit shall keep thee in all temptations from desperation, and certify

Christ is our only Physician to heal and deliver us of our sins.

thine heart that God for his truth shall deliver thee and save thee, yea, and by thy good deeds shalt thou be saved, not which thou hast done, but which Christ has done for thee, For Christ is thine and all his deeds are thy deeds. Christ is in thee and thou in him, knit together inseparably. Neither canst thou be damned except Christ be damned with thee: neither can Christ be saved except thou be saved with him. Moreover thy heart is good, right, holy and just, for thy heart is no enemy to the law but a friend and a lover. The law and thy heart are agreed and at one, and therefore is God at one with thee. The consent of the heart unto the law, is unity and peace between God and man. For he is not mine enemy which would fain do me pleasure, and mourneth because he hath not wherewith. Now he that opened thy disease unto thee and made thee long for health, shall, as he hath promised, heal thee, and he that hath loosed thy heart, shall at his godly leisure, loose thy members. He that hath not the Spirit hath no feeling, neither lusteth or longeth after power to fulfil the law, neither abhorreth the pleasures of sin, neither hath any more certainty of the promises of God, than I have of a tale of Robin Hood, or of some jest that a man telleth me was done at Rome. Another man may lightly make me doubt or believe the contrary, seeing I have no experience thereof myself; so is it of them that feel not the working of the Spirit, and therefore in time of temptation the buildings of their imaginations fall.

Christ is our anchorhold to salvation.

HE that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, that is, because he is a prophet, shall receive the reward of a prophet; and He that giveth one of these little ones a cup of cold water to drink in the name of a disciple, shall not loose his reward. (Matt. x.) Note this, that a prophet signifieth as well him that interpreteth the hard places of Scripture as him that prophesieth things to come. Now he that receiveth a prophet, a just man, or a disciple, shall have the same or like reward, that is to say, shall have the same eternal life which is appointed for them in Christ's blood

A prophet, what he is.

and merits. For except thou were elect to the same eternal life and hadst the same faith and trust in God, and the same Spirit, thou couldst never consent to their deeds and help them. But thy deeds testify what thou art, and certify thy conscience that thou art received to mercy, and sanctified in Christ's passions and sufferings, and shalt hereafter, with all them that follow God, receive the reward of eternal life.

Of thy words thou shalt be justified, and of thy words thou shalt be condemned; (Matt. xii.) That is, thy words as well as other deeds shall testify with thee or against thee at the day of judgment. Many there are which abstain from the outward deeds of fornication and adultery, nevertheless rejoice to talk thereof and laugh; their words and laughter testify against them that their heart is impure, and they adulterers and fornicators in the sight of God. The tongue and other signs ofttimes utter the malice of the heart though a man for many causes abstain his hand from the outward deed or act.

Matt. xii.

The abstaining from sin outwardly is but hypocrisy.

If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments; (Matt. xix.) First, remember that when God commandeth us to do any thing, he doth it not therefore because that we of ourselves are able to do that he commandeth; but that by the law we might see and know our horrible damnation and captivity under sin, and [therefore] should repent and come to Christ, and receive mercy and the Spirit of God to loose us, strengthen us, and to make us able to do God's will, which is the law. Now when he saith, If thou wilt enter into life keep the commandments, is as much [as] to say, as he that keepeth the commandments is entered into life: for except a man have first the Spirit of life in him by Christ's purchasing, it is impossible for him to keep the commandments, or that his heart should be loose or at liberty to lust after them, for of nature we are enemies to the law of God.

Matt. xix.

To believe unfeignedly in Christ is to keep the commandments.

As touching that, Christ saith afterward, If thou wilt be perfect go, and sell thy substance and give it to the poor; he saith it not as who should say that there were any greater

The law is spiritual and requireth the heart.

perfection than to keep the law of God, (for that is all perfection,) but to shew the other his blindness, which saw not that the law is spiritual, and requireth the heart. But because he was not knowing that he had hurt any man with the outward deed, he supposed that he loved his neighbour as himself. But when he was bid to shew the deeds of love, and give of his abundance to them that needed, he departed mourning. Which is an evident token that he loved not his neighbour as well as himself. For if he had need himself, it would not have grieved him to have received succour of another man. Moreover, he saw not that it was murder and theft, that a man should have abundance of riches lying by him, and not to shew mercy therewith, and kindly to succour his neighbour's need. God hath given one man riches to help another at need. If thy neighbour need, and thou help him not, being able, thou withholdest his duty from him, and art a thief before God.

If the rich help not the poor in their need, they are but theives before God.

That also, that Christ saith, how that it is harder for a rich man (who loveth his riches so that he cannot find in his heart liberally and freely to help the poor and needy) to enter into the kingdom of heaven, than a camel to go through the eye of a needle, declareth that he was not entered into the kingdom of heaven, that is to say, eternal life. But he that keepeth the commandments is entered into life, yea, hath life and the Spirit of life in him.

THIS kind of devils goeth not out but by prayer and fasting. (Mat. xxvii.) Not that the devil is cast out by merits of fasting or praying. For he saith before, that for their unbelief's sake, they could not cast him out. It is faith no doubt that casteth out the devils, and faith it is that fasteth and prayeth. Faith hath the promises of God whereunto she cleaveth, and in all things thirsteth [for] the honour of God. She fasteth to subdue the body unto the spirit that the prayer be not let, and that the spirit may quietly talk with God: she also, whensoever opportunity is given, prayeth God to fulfil his promises unto his praise

Mat. xxvii.

Faith casteth out devils.

Faith fasteth.

Faith prayeth.

and glory. And God, which is merciful in promising, and true to fulfil them, casteth out the devils, and doth all that faith desireth, and satisfieth her thirst.

COME, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world; for I was athirst, and ye gave me drink, &c. (Mat. xxv.) Not that a man with works deserveth eternal life as a workman or labourer his hire or wages. Thou readest in the text, that the kingdom was prepared for us from the beginning of the world. And we are blessed and sanctified. In Christ's blood are we blessed from that bitter curse and damnable captivity under sin, wherein we were born and conceived. And Christ's Spirit is poured into us, to bring forth good works, and our works are the fruits of the Spirit, and the kingdom is the deserving of Christ's blood, and so is faith and the Spirit and good works also. Notwithstanding the kingdom followeth good works, and good works testify that we are heirs thereof, and at the day of judgment shall they testify for the elect unto their comfort and glory: and to the confusion of the ungodly, unbelieving and faithless sinners, which had not trust in the word of God's promises, nor lust to the will of God; but were carried of the spirit of their father the devil unto all abomination, to work wickedness with all lust, delectation, and greediness.

Mat. xxv.

In Christ's blood we are blessed from the curse of the law.

MANY sins are forgiven her, for she loveth much; (Luke vii.) Not that love was cause of forgiveness of sins, but contrariwise the forgiveness of sins caused love, as it followeth, to whom less was forgiven that same loveth less. And afore he commended the judgment of Simon, which answered that he loveth most to whom most was forgiven: and also said at the last, Thy faith hath saved thee (or made thee safe) go in peace. We cannot love except we see some benefit and kindness. As long as we look on the law of God only, where we see but sin and damnation and the wrath of God upon us, yea where we were damned

Luke vii.

The law condemneth.

afore we were born we cannot love God. No, we cannot but hate him as a tyrant, unrighteous, unjust, and flee from him as did Cain. But when the gospel, that [those] glad tidings and joyful promises are preached, how that in Christ, God loveth us first, forgiveth us, and hath mercy on us, then love we again, and the deeds of our love declare our faith. This is the manner of speaking: as we say, Summer is nigh, for the trees blossom. Now is the blossoming of the trees not the cause that summer draweth nigh; but the drawing nigh of summer is the cause of the blossoms, and the blossoms put us in remembrance that summer is at hand. So Christ here teacheth Simon by the ferventness of love in the outward deeds, to see a strong faith within whence so great love springeth. As the manner is to say, Do your charity, shew your charity, do a deed of charity, shew your mercy, do a deed of mercy, meaning thereby that our deeds declare how we love our neighhours, and how much we have compassion on them at their need. Moreover it is not possible to love except we see a cause. Except we see in our hearts the love and kindness of God to usward in Christ our Lord, it is not possible to love God aright.

The gospel comforteth and maketh us safe.

Certain phrases of speech expounded.

We say also, He that loveth not my dog loveth not me. Not that a man should love my dog first, but if a man loved me, the love wherewith he loved me would compel him to love my dog, though the dog deserved it not, yea, though the dog had done him a displeasure, yet if he loved me, the same love would refrain him from revenging himself, and cause him to refer the vengeance unto me. Such speakings find we in Scripture; John in the ivth of his first Epistle saith, He that saith I love God, and yet hateth his brother, is a liar; For how can he that loveth not his brother whom he seeth, love God whom he seeth not? This is not spoken that a man should first love his brother and then God, but as it followeth: For this commandment have we of him, that he which loveth God should love his brother also. To love my neighbour is the commandment;

John iv.

which commandment he that loveth not, loveth not God. The keeping of the commandment declareth what love I have to God. If I loved God purely, nothing that my neighbour could do were able to make me either to hate him, either to take vengeance on him myself, seeing that God hath commanded me to love him, and to remit all vengeance unto him. Mark now, how much I love the commandment, so much I love God; how much I love God, so much believe I that he is merciful, kind and good, yea, and a father unto me for Christ's sake. How much I believe that God is merciful unto me, and that he will for Christ's sake fulfil all his promises unto me; so much I see my sins, so much do my sins grieve me, so much do I repent and sorrow that I sin, so much displeaseth me that poison that moveth me to sin, and so greatly desire I to be healed. So now by the natural order, first I see my sin; then I repent and sorrow; then believe I God's promises, that he is merciful unto me, and forgiveth me, and will heal me at the last: then love I, and then I prepare myself to the commandment.

Where perfect love to God is, there are all good works.

THIS do and thou shalt live. (Luke x.) That is to say, Love thy Lord God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind, and thy neighbour as thyself. As who should say, if thou do this, or though thou canst not do it, yet if thou feelest lust thereunto, and thy spirit sigheth, mourneth, and longeth after strength to do it, take a sign and evident token thereby, that the Spirit of life is in thee, and that thou art elect to life everlasting by Christ's blood, whose gift and purchase is thy faith, and that Spirit that worketh the will of God in thee, whose gift also are thy deeds, or rather the deeds of the Spirit of Christ, and not thine, and whose gift is the reward of eternal life, which followeth good works.

Luke x.

What it is to love God with all our heart &c.

It followeth also in the same place of Luke, When he should depart he plucked out twopence and gave them to the host and said unto him, Take the charge or cure of him,

and whatsoever thou spendest more I will recompesne it thee at my coming again. Remember, this is a parable, and a parable may not be expounded word for word; but the intent of the similitude must be sought but only in the whole parable. The intent of the similitude is to shew to whom a man is a neighbour or who is a man's neighbour, which is both one, and what is to love a man's neighbour as himself.

The true understanding of a parable.

The Samaritan helped him and shewed mercy as long as he was present, and when he could be no longer present, he left his money behind him, And if that were not sufficient, he left his credence to make good the rest, and forsook him not as long as the other had need. Then said Christ, Go thou and do likewise; that is, without difference or respection of persons: whósoever needeth thy help, him count thy neighbour, and his neighbour be thou, and shew mercy on him as long as he needeth thy succour, and that is to love a man's neighbour as himself. Neighbour is a word of love, and signifieth that a man should be ever nigh and at hand, and ready to help in time of need.

We must ever be ready to help our neighbour.

They that will interpret parables word by word, fall into straights ofttimes, whence they cannot rid themselves; and preach lies instead of the truth. As do they which interpret by the twopence, the Old Testament and the New, and by that which is bestowed *Opera supererogationis*. Howbeit *Superarrogantia* were a meeter term. That is to say, deeds which are more than the law requireth, deeds of perfection and of liberality which a man is not bound to do but of his free will: and for them he shall have an higher place in heaven and may give to other of his merits; or of which the Pope after his death may give pardons from the pains of purgatory.

Against which exposition I answer; first, a greater perfection than the law is there not. A greater perfection than to love God and his will, which is the commandments, with all thine heart, with all thy soul, with all thy strength, with all thy mind, is there none; and to love a man's neighbour as himself is like the same. It is a wonderful

love wherewith a man loveth himself. As glad as I would be to receive pardon of mine own life, (if I had deserved death) so glad ought I to be to defend my neighbour's life without respect of my life, or of my good. A man ought neither to spare his goods nor yet himself for his brother's sake, after the ensample of Christ (1 John iii.) Herein saith he, perceive we love, in that he, that is to say Christ, gave his life for us, we ought therefore to bestow our lives for the brethren. Now saith Christ, (John xv.) There is no greater love than that a man bestow his life for his friend. John iii. John xv.

Moreover no man can fulfil the law, for John saith (1st chapter of the said Epistle,) If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and truth is not in us, if we knowledge our sins, he is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins and to purge us from all iniquity. And in the Paternoster also we say, Father, forgive us our sins. Now if we be all sinners, none fulfilleth the law: for he that fulfilleth the law is no sinner. In the law: may neither Peter nor Paul nor any other creature save Christ only rejoice. In the blood of Christ, which fulfilled the law for us, may every person that repenteth, believeth, loveth the law, and mourneth for strength to fulfil it, rejoice, be he never so weak a sinner. The twopence therefore and the credence that he left behind him to bestow more, if need were, signifieth that he was everywhere merciful, both present and absent, without feigning, cloaking, complaining, or excusing, and forsake not his neighbour as long as he has need. Which example I pray God men may follow; and let *opera supererogationis* alone. 1st. John i. Works that the Papists called works, more than the law requireth.

MARY hath chosen a good part which shall not be taken from her; (Luke x.) She was first chosen of God and called by grace, both to know her sin and also to hear the word of faith, health, and glad tidings of mercy in Christ; and faith was given her to believe, and the Spirit of God loosed her heart from the bondage of sin: then consented she to the will of God again, and above all things had delectation Luke x.

to hear the word wherein she had obtained everlasting health, and namely, of his own mouth, which had purchased so great mercy for her. God chooseth us first and loveth us first, and openeth our eyes to see his exceeding abundant love to us in Christ, and then love we again, and accept his will above all things, and serve him in that office whereunto he hath chosen us.

Sell that ye have, and give alms, and make you bags which wax not old, and treasure which faileth not in heaven. (Luke xii.) This and such like are not spoken that we should work as hirelings in respect of reward, and as though we should obtain heaven with merit: for he saith a little afore, Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's pleasure to give you a kingdom. The kingdom cometh then of the good will of Almighty God through Christ, and such things are spoken partly to put us in remembrance of our duty to be kind again. As is that saying, Let your light so shine before men that they, seeing your good works, may glorify your Father which is in heaven: as who should say, if God hath given you so great gifts see ye be not unthankful, but bestow them unto his praise. Some things are spoken to move us to put our trust in God, as are these; Behold the lilies of the field: Behold the birds of the air: If your children ask you bread will ye proffer them a stone? and many such like. Some are spoken to put us in remembrance to be sober, to watch and pray, and to prepare ourselves against temptations, and that we should understand and know how that temptations and occasion of evil come then most, when they are least looked for; lest we should be careless and sure of ourselves, negligent and unprepared. Some things are spoken that we should fear the wonderful and incomprehensible judgments of God lest we should presume. Some to comfort us that we despair not. And for like causes are all the ensamples of the Old Testament. In conclusion, the Scripture speaketh many things as the world speaketh, but they may not be worldly understood, but ghostly and spiritually, yea, the Spirit of God only un-

Luke xii.

Whatsoever we have we receive it of the mercy and goodness of God.

The great diversity and manner of the speaking of the Scriptures.

derstandeth them, and where he is not there is not the understanding of the Scripture; but unfruitful disputing and brawling about words.

The sayings of the Scriptures may not be grossly understoood.

The Scripture saith, God seeth, God heareth, God smelleth, God walketh, God is with them, God is not with them, God is angry, God is pleased, God sendeth his Spirit, God taketh his Spirit away, and a thousand such like: and yet is none of them true after the worldly manner, and as the words sound. Read the iind chapter of Paul to the Corinthians: The natural man understandeth not the things of God, but the Spirit of God only. And we, saith he, have received the Spirit which is of God to understand the things which are given us of God: or without the Spirit it is impossible to understand them. Read also the viiith to the Romans: They that are led with the Spirit of God, are the sons of God: now the son knoweth his father's will and the servant that hath not the Spirit of Christ, (saith Paul) is none of his: likewise he that hath not the Spirit of God, is none of God's, for it is both one Spirit, as thou mayest see in the same place.

The natural man understandeth not the things of God.

Rom. viii.

Now he that is of God heareth the word of God, (John viii.) And who is of God but he that hath the Spirit of God? furthermore, saith he, Ye hear it not, because ye are not of God; that is, ye have no lust in the word of God, for ye understand it not, and that because his Spirit is not in you.

John viii.

Forasmuch then as the Scripture is nothing else but that which the Spirit of God hath spoken by the prophets and apostles, and cannot be understood but of the same Spirit, Let every man pray to God to send him his Spirit to loose him from his natural blindness and ignorance, and to give him understanding, and feeling of the things of God, and of the speaking of the Spirit of God. And mark this process: first, we are damned of nature, so conceived and born, as a serpent is a serpent, and a toad a toad, and a snake a snake by nature. And as thou seest a young child which hath pleasure in many things wherein is present death, as in fire, water, and so forth, would slay himself with a thousand

The Scripture is nothing else but that which the Spirit of God hath spoken.

deaths if he were not waited upon and kept therefrom, even so we, if we should live these thousand years, could in all that time delight in no other thing, nor yet seek any other thing but that wherein is death of the soul.

Secondarily, of the whole multitude of the nature of man, whom God hath elect and chosen, and to whom he hath appointed mercy and grace in Christ, to them sendeth he his Spirit, which openeth their eyes, sheweth them their misery, and bringeth them unto the knowledge of themselves, so that they hate and abhor themselves, are astonished and amazed, and at their wit's end, neither wot what to do, or where to seek health. Then lest they should flee from God by desperation, he comforteth them again with his sweet promises in Christ, and certifieth their hearts that for Christ's sake they are received to mercy, and their sins forgiven, and they elect and made the sons of God, and heirs with Christ of eternal life: and thus, through faith, are they set at peace with God.

By faith in Christ we are brought to the state of salvation.

Now may not we ask why God chooseth one and not another; either think that God is unjust to damn us afore we do any actual deed; seeing that God hath power over all his creatures of right to do with them what he list, or to make of every one of them as he listeth. Our darkness cannot perceive his light. God will be feared, and not have his secret judgments known. Moreover we by the light of faith see a thousand things which are impossible to an infidel to see: so likewise no doubt, in the light of the clear vision of God, we shall see things which now God will not have known. For pride ever accompanieth high knowledge, but grace accompanieth meekness. Let us therefore give diligence rather to do the will of God, than to search his secrets which are not profitable for us to know.

God worketh his own will with all his creatures.

When we are thus reconciled to God, made the friends of God and heirs of eternal life, the Spirit that God hath poured into us testifieth that we may not live after our old deeds of ignorance: for how is it possible that we should repent and abhor them, and yet have lust to live in them?

If we believe in God we must put off the old man and his works.

We are sure therefore that God hath created and made us new in Christ and put his Spirit in us that we should live a new life which is the life of good works.

That thou mayest know what are good works, and the intent of good works, or wherefore good works serve, mark this that followeth.

Good works what they are, and to what end they serve.

The life of a Christian man is inward between him and God, and properly is the consent of the Spirit to the will of God and to the honour of God. And God's honour is the final end of all good works.

Good works are all things that are done within the laws of God, in which God is honoured, and for which thanks are given to God.

Fasting, the true use thereof.

Fasting is to abstain from surfeiting, or overmuch eating, from drunkenness, and care of the world (as thou mayest read Luke xxi.) and the end of fasting is to tame the body that the Spirit may have a free course to God, and may quietly talk with God. For overmuch eating and drinking, and care of worldly business, press down the spirit, choke her and tangle her that she cannot lift up herself to God. Now he that fasteth for any other intent than to subdue the body that the Spirit may wait on God, and freely exercise herself in the things of God; the same is blind, and wotteth not what he doth, erreth and shooteth at a wrong mark, and his intent and imagination is abominable in the sight of God. When thou fastest from meat and drinkest all day, is that a Christian fast? either to eat at one meal that were sufficient for four? A man at four times may bear that he cannot at once. Some fast from meat and drink, and yet so tangle themselves in worldly business that they cannot once think on God. Some abstain from butter, some from eggs, some from all manner [of] white meat, some this day, some that day, some in the honour of this saint, some of that, and every man for a sundry purpose. Some for the tooth ache, some for the head ache, for fevers, pestilence, for sudden death, for hanging, drowning, and to be delivered from the pains of

True fasting what it is.

Superstitious fasting.

hell. Some are so mad, that they fast one of the Thursdays between the two St. Mary days, in the worship of that saint, whose day is hallowed between Christmas and Candlemas; and that to be delivered from the pestilence. All those men fast without conscience of God, and without knowledge of the true intent of fasting, and do no other than honour saints, as the Gentiles and heathen worshipped their idols, and are drowned in blindness, and know not of the Testament, that God hath made to man ward in Christ's blood. In God have they neither hope nor confidence, neither believe his promises, neither know his will, but are yet in captivity under the prince of darkness.

Superstitious watching.

WATCH, is not only to abstain from sleep, but also to be circumspect and to cast all perils; as a man should watch a tower or a castle. We must remember that the snares of the devil are infinite and innumerable, and that every moment arise new temptations, and that in all places meet us fresh occasions; against which we must prepare ourselves and turn to God and complain to him, and make our moan, and desire him of his mercy to be our shield, our tower, our castle, and defence from all evil, to put his strength in us, for without him we can do nought, and above all things we must call to mind what promises God hath made and what he hath sworn that he will do to us for Christ's sake, and with strong faith cleave unto him and desire him of his mercy and for the love that he hath to Christ, and for his truth's sake, to fulfil his promises. If we thus cleave to God with strong faith and believe his words, then as saith Paul, (1st Cor. x.) God is faithful that he will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able, or above our might, that is to say, if we cleave to his promises and not to our own fantasies and imaginations, he will put might and power into us that shall be stronger than all the temptation which he shall suffer to be against us.

True watching.

Prayer, what it is.

PRAYER is a mourning, a longing, and a desire of the

man mourneth and sorroweth in his heart, longing for health. Faith ever prayeth. For after that by faith we are reconciled to God, and have received mercy and forgiveness of God, the spirit longeth and thirsteth for strength to do the will of God, and that God may be honoured, his name hallowed, and his pleasure and will fulfilled. The spirit waiteth and watcheth on the will of God, and ever hath her own fragility and weakness before her eyes; and when she seeth temptation and peril draw nigh, she turneth to God, and to the Testament that God hath made to all that believe and trust in Christ's blood, and desireth God for his mercy, and truth, and for the love he hath to Christ, that he will fulfil his promise, that he will succour, and help, and give us strength, and that he will sanctify his name in us, and fulfil his godly will in us, and that he will not look on our sin and iniquity, but on his mercy, on his truth, and on the love that he oweth to his Son Christ, and for his sake to keep us from temptation, that we be not overcome, and that he deliver us from evil, and whatsoever moveth us contrary to his godly will.

Moreover, of his own experience he feeleth other men's need, and no less commendeth to God the infirmities of other than his own, knowing that there is no strength, no help, no succour, but of God only. And as merciful as he feeleth God in his heart to himselfward, so merciful is he to other; and as greatly as he feeleth his own misery, so great compassion hath he on other. His neighbour is no less care to him than himself: he feeleth his neighbour's grief no less than his own. And whensoever he seeth occasion, he cannot but pray for his neighbour as well as for himself: his nature is to seek the honour of God in all men, and to draw (as much as in him is) all men unto God. This is the law of love, which springeth out of Christ's blood into the hearts of all them that have their trust in him. No man needeth to bid a Christian man to pray, if he see his neighbour's need: if he see it not, put him in remembrance only, and then he cannot but do his duty. True prayer

Now, as touching we desire one another to pray for us, that do we to put our neighbour in remembrance of his duty, and not that we trust in his holiness. Our trust is in God, in Christ, and in the truth of God's promises; we have also a promise, that when two or three, or more, agree together in any thing, according to the will of God, God heareth us. Notwithstanding, as God heareth many, so heareth he few, and so heareth he one, if he pray after the will of God, and desire the honour of God. He that desireth mercy, the same feeleth his own misery and sin, and mourneth in his heart for to be delivered, that he might honour God; and God for his truth must hear him, which saith by the mouth of Christ, (Matt. v.) Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled. God, for his truth's sake, must put the righteousness of Christ in him, and wash his unrighteousness away in the blood of Christ. And be the sinner never so weak, never so feeble and frail, sin he never so oft and so grievous, yet so long as this lust, desire, and mourning to be delivered remaineth in him, God seeth not his sins, reckoneth them not, for his truth's sake, and love to Christ. He is not a sinner in the sight of God that would be no sinner. He that would be delivered hath his heart loose already. His heart sinneth not, but mourneth, repenteth, and consenteth unto the law and will of God, and justifieth God; that is, beareth record that God which made the law is righteous and just. And such an heart, trusting in Christ's blood, is accepted for full righteous. And his weakness, infirmity, and frailty is pardoned, and his sins not looked upon: until God put more strength in him, and fulfil his lust.

True prayer is not without faith and charity.

Matt. v.

He that repenteth his sin is no sinner before God.

When the weak in the faith, and unexpert in the mysteries of Christ, desire us to pray for them, then ought we to lead them to the truth and promises of God, and teach them to put their trust in the promises of God, in love that God hath to Christ and to us for his sake, and to strengthen their weak consciences, shewing and proving by

How we should pray for our neighbours.

the Scripture, that as long as they follow the Spirit and resist sin, it is impossible they should fall so deep that God shall not pull them up again, if they hold fast by the anchor of faith, having trust and confidence in Christ. The love that God hath to Christ is infinite; and Christ did and suffered all things not for himself, to obtain favour or aught else; for he had ever the full favour of God, and was ever Lord over all things; but to reconcile us to God, and to make us heirs with him of his Father's kingdom. And God hath promised, that whosoever calleth on his name shall never be confounded or ashamed. (Rom. ix.) Rom. ix.
If the righteous fall (saith the Scripture) he shall not be bruised; the Lord shall put his hand under him. Who is righteous but he that trusteth in Christ's blood, be he never so weak? Christ is our righteousness; and in him ought we to teach all men to trust, and to expound unto all men the Testament, that God hath made to us sinners in Christ's blood. This ought we to do, and not make a prey of them to lead them captive, to sit in their consciences, and to teach them to trust in our holiness, good deeds and prayers, to the intent that we would feed our idle and slow bellies of their great labour and sweat, and so to make ourselves Christs and Saviours. For if I take on me to save other by my merits, make I not myself a Christ and a Saviour, and am indeed a false prophet, and a true Antichrist, and exalt myself and sit in the temple of God; that is to wit, the consciences of men? Christ is our righteousness.

Among Christian men, love maketh all things common; every man is other's debtor, and every man is bound to minister to his neighbour, and to supply his neighbour's lack of that wherewith God hath endowed him. As thou seest in the world, how the lords and officers minister peace in the commonwealth, punish murderers, thieves, and evil doers, and to maintain their order and estate, do the commons minister to them again rent, tribute, toll, and custom: so in the gospel, the curates which in every parish preach the gospel, ought of duty to Love among Christian men maketh all things common.

receive an honest living for them and their households; and even so ought the other officers, which are necessarily required in the commonwealth of Christ. We need not to use filthy lucre in the gospel, to chop and change, and to play the taverners, altering the word of God as they do their wines, to their most advantage, and to fashion God's word after every man's mouth; or to abuse the name of Christ, to obtain thereby authority and power to feed our slow bellies. Now seest thou what prayer is, the end thereof, and wherefore it serveth.

Man's imagination cannot alter the law of God, neither make it more or less.

If thou give me a thousand pounds to pray for thee, I am no more bound than I was before. Man's imagination can make the commandment of God neither greater nor smaller, neither can to the law of God either add or minish. God's commandment is as great as himself. I am bound to love the Turk with all my might and power; yea, and above my power, even from the ground of my heart, after the ensample that Christ loved me,—neither to spare goods, body, or life, to win him to Christ. And what can I do more for thee if thou gavest me all the world? Where I see need there can I not but pray, if God's Spirit be in me.

Alms, what it is.

Alms is a Greek word, and signifieth mercy. One Christian is debtor to another at his need, of all that he is able to do for him, until his need be sufficed. Every Christian man ought to have Christ always before his eyes, as an ensample to counterfeit and follow, and to do to his neighbour as Christ hath done to him, as Paul teacheth in all his epistles, and Peter in his first, and John in his first also. This order useth Paul in all his epistles: first, he preacheth the law, and proveth that the whole nature of man is damned, in that the heart lusteth contrary to the will of God. For if we were of God, no doubt we should have lust in his will. Then preacheth he Christ, the gospel, the promises, and the mercy that God hath set forth to all men in Christ's blood: which they that believe, and take it for an earnest thing, turn themselves to God, begin to love God again, and to prepare themselves to his

1 Pet. i. 1 John i.

will by the working of the Spirit of God in them. Last of all, exhorteth he to unity, peace, and soberness; to avoid brawlings, sects, opinions, disputing and arguing about words, and to walk in the plain and single faith and feeling of the Spirit, and to love one another after the ensample of Christ, even as Christ loved us; and to be thankful, and to walk worthy of the gospel, and as it becometh Christ, and with the ensample of pure living to draw all to Christ.

Christ is Lord over all; and every Christian is heir annexed with Christ, and therefore Lord of all; and every one Lord of whatsoever another hath. If thy brother or neighbour therefore need, and thou have to help him, and yet shewest not mercy, but withdrawest thy hands from him, then robbest thou him of his own, and art a thief. A Christian man hath Christ's spirit. Now is Christ a merciful thing: if, therefore, thou be not merciful, after the ensample of Christ, then hast thou not his Spirit. If thou have not Christ's Spirit, then art thou none of his, (Rom. viii.) nor hast any part with him. Moreover, though thou shew mercy unto thy neighbour, yet if thou do it not with such burning love as Christ did unto thee, so must thou knowledge thy sin, and desire mercy in Christ. A Christian man hath nought to rejoice in, as concerning his deeds. His rejoicing is that Christ died for him, and that he is washed in Christ's blood. Of his deeds rejoiceth he not, neither counteth his merits, neither giveth pardons of them, neither seeketh an higher place in heaven of them, neither maketh himself a saviour of other men through his good works: but giveth all honour to God, and in his greatest deeds of mercy, knowledgeth himself a sinner unfeignedly, and is abundantly content with that place that is prepared for him of Christ; and his good deeds are to him a sign only that Christ's Spirit is in him, and he in Christ, and, through Christ, elect to eternal life.

He that is merciful hath the Spirit of God.

Rom. viii.

The order of love or charity which some dream, the gospel of Christ knoweth not of, that a man should begin at himself, and serve himself first, and then descend, I wot

Love seeketh not her own profit.

not by what steps. Love seeketh not her own profit, (1 Cor. xiii.) but maketh a man to forget himself, and to turn his profit to another man, as Christ sought not himself, or his own profit, but ours. This term, myself, is not in the gospel; neither yet father, mother, sister, brother, kinsman, that one should be preferred in love above another. But Christ is all in all things. Every Christian man to another is Christ himself; and thy neighbour's need hath as good right in thy goods as hath Christ himself, which is heir and Lord over all. And look, what thou owest to Christ, that thou owest to thy neighbour's need: to thy neighbour owest thou thine heart, thyself, and all that thou hast and canst do. The love that springeth out of Christ excludeth no man, neither putteth difference between one and another. In Christ we are all of one degree, without respect of persons. Notwithstanding, though a Christian man's heart be open to all men, and receiveth all men, yet, because that his ability of goods extendeth not so far, this provision is made,—that every man shall care for his own household, as father and mother, and thine elders that have holpen thee, wife, children, and servants. If thou shouldest not care and provide for thine household, then were thou an infidel, seeing thou hast taken on thee so to do, and forasmuch as that is thy part committed to thee of the congregation. When thou hast done thy duty to thine household, and yet hast further abundance of the blessing of God, that owest thou to the poor that cannot labour, or would labour and can get no work, and are destitute of friends; to the poor, I mean, which thou knowest, to them of thine own parish. For that provision ought to be had in the congregation, that every parish care for their poor. If thy neighbours which thou knowest be served, and thou yet have superfluity, and hearest necessity to be among the brethren a thousand miles of, to them art thou debtor. Yea, to the very infidels we be debtors, if they need, as far forth as we maintain them not against Christ, or to blaspheme Christ. Thus is every man that needeth thy

1 Cor. xiii.

Christ is all in all things.

Every one must care for their own households.

First look to thine own household, and then to the poor.

help, thy father, mother, sister and brother in Christ; even as every man that doth the will of the father, is father, mother, sister and brother unto Christ.

Moreover if any be an infidel and a false christian, and forsake his household, his wife, children, and such as cannot help themselves, then art thou bound and thou have wherewith even as much as to thine own household. And they have as good right in thy goods as thou thyself: and if thou withdraw mercy from them, and hast wherewith to help them, then art thou a thief. If thou shew mercy, so doest thou thy duty, and art a faithful minister in the household of Christ, and of Christ shalt thou have thy reward and thanks. If the whole world were thine, yet hath every brother his right in thy goods, and is heir with thee, as we are all heirs with Christ. Moreover the rich and they that have wisdom with them must see the poor set a work, that as many as are able may feed themselves with the labour of their own hands, according to the Scripture and commandment of God.

We must for Christ's sake shew our compassion and charity to all men, so far as our ability will extend.

Now seest thou what alms-deeds meaneth, and wherefore it serveth. He that seeketh with his alms more than to be merciful to a neighbour, to succour his brother's need, to do his duty to his brother, to give his brother that he oweth him, the same is blind and seeth not what it is to be a christian man, and to have fellowship in Christ's blood.

As pertaining to good works, understand that all works are good which are done within the law of God, in faith and with thanksgiving to God, and understand that thou in doing them pleasest God, whatsoever thou doest within the law of God, as when thou makest water. And trust me, if either wind or water were stopped, thou shouldest feel what a precious thing it were to do either of both, and what thanks ought to be given God therefore. Moreover put no difference between works, but whatsoever cometh into thy hands that do, as time, place, and occasion giveth, and as God hath put thee in degree high or low. For as touching to please God, there is no work better than

Good works what they are.

another. God looketh not first on thy work as the world doth, as though the beautifulness of the work pleased him as it doth the world, or as though he had need of them: but God looketh first on thy heart, what faith thou hast to his words, how thou believest him, trustest him, and how thou lovest him for his mercy that he hath showed thee; he looketh with what heart thou workest, and not what thou workest, how thou acceptest the degree that he hath put thee in, and not of what degree thou art, whether thou be an apostle or a shoemaker. Set this ensample before thine eyes. Thou art a kitchen page, and washest thy master's dishes, another is an apostle, and preacheth the word of God. Of this apostle hark what Paul saith in the iind Cor. ix. If I preach, saith he, I have nought to rejoice in, for necessity is put unto me; as who should say, God hath made me so. Woe is unto me if I preach not. If I do it willingly, saith he, then have I my reward, that is, then am I sure that God's Spirit is in me and that I am elect to eternal life. If I do it against my will, an office is committed unto me; that is, if I do it not of love to God, but to get a living thereby, and for a worldly purpose, and had rather otherwise live, then do I that office which God hath put me in, and yet please not God myself. Note now, if this apostle preach not, as many do not, which not only make themselves apostles, but also compel men to take them for greater than apostles, yea, for greater than Christ himself: then woe is unto him, that is, his damnation is just. If he preach and his heart not right, yet ministereth he the office that God hath put him in, and they that have the Spirit of God, hear the voice of God, yea, though he speak in an ass. Moreover howsoever he preacheth he hath not to rejoice in that he preacheth. But and if he preach willingly, with a true heart, and of concience to God, then hath he his reward, that is, then feeleth he the earnest of eternal life, and the working of the Spirit of God in him. And as he feeleth God's goodness and mercy, so be thou sure he feeleth his own infirmity, weakness, and unworthiness, and mourneth

2 Cor. ix.

We must do good works and yet put no trust in them.

and knowledgeth his sin, in that the heart will not arise to work with that full lust and love that is in Christ our Lord: And nevertheless is yet at peace with God, through faith and trust in Christ Jesu. For the earnest of the Spirit that worketh in him, testifieth and beareth witness unto his heart that God hath chosen him, and that his grace shall suffice him, which grace is now not idle in him. In his works putteth he his trust.

God is no accepter of persons, but receiveth all that submit themselves unto him.

Now thou that ministerest in the kitchen, and art but a kitchen page, receivest all things of the hand of God, knowest that God hath put thee in that office, submittest thyself to his will and servest thy master not as a man, but as Christ himself with a pure heart, according as Paul teacheth us, puttest thy trust in God, and with him seekest thy reward. Moreover there is not a good deed done, but thy heart rejoiceth therein, yea, when thou hearest that the word of God is preached by this apostle and seest the people turn to God, thou consentest unto the deed; thine heart breaketh out in joy, springeth and leapeth in thy breast, that God is honoured: and in thine heart doest the same that that apostle doth, and haply with greater delectation, and a more fervent spirit. Now he that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive the reward of a prophet; (Matt. x.) that is, he hath consenteth to the deed of a prophet, and maintaineth it, the same hath the same Spirit and earnest of everlasting life, which the prophet hath, and is elect as the prophet is.

Matt. x.

As all deeds are acceptable to God that are done in faith, so no deed is allowed good in God's sight (how glorious to the world soever it appears) if it be without faith.

Now if thou compare deed to deed, there is difference betwixt washing of dishes, and preaching of the word of God; but as touching to please God none at all: for neither that nor this pleaseth, but as far forth as God hath chosen a man, hath put his Spirit in him, and purified his heart by faith and trust in Christ.

Let every man therefore wait on the office wherein Christ hath put him, and therein serve his brethren. If he be of low degree let him patiently therein abide, till God promote him, and exalt him higher. Let kings and head officers

seek Christ in their offices, and minister peace and quietness unto the brethren; punish sin, and that with mercy, even with the same sorrow and grief of mind as they would cut off a finger or joint, a leg or arm, of their own body, if there were such disease in them that either they must be cut off, or else all the body must perish.

Every man to walk truly in his vocation, is the right service of God.

Let every man of whatsoever craft or occupation he be of, whether brewer, baker, tailor, victualler, merchant, or husbandman, refer his craft and occupation unto the commonwealth, and serve his brethren as he would do Christ himself. Let him buy and sell truly, and not set dice on his brethren; and so sheweth he mercy, and his occupation pleaseth God. And when thou receivest money for thy labour or ware thou receivest thy duty. For wherein soever thou minister to thy brethren, thy brethren are debtors to give thee wherewith to maintain thyself and household. And let your superfluities succour the poor, of which sort shall ever be some in all towns, and cities, and villages, and that I suppose the greatest number. Remember that we

We must be merciful one to another.

are members of one body, and ought to minister one to another mercifully: and remember that whatsoever we have it is given us of God, to bestow it on our brethren. Let him that eateth, eat and give God thanks, only let not thy meat pull thine heart from God; and let him that drinketh do likewise. Let him that hath a wife, give God thanks for his liberty, only let not thy wife withdraw thine heart from God, and then pleasest thou God, and hast the word of God for thee. And in all things look on the word of God, and therein put thy trust, and not in a visor, in a disguised garment, and a cut shoe.

Seek the word of God in all things, and without the word of God do nothing, though it appear never so glorious. Whatsoever is done without the word of God that count

Luke xvii.

idolatry. The kingdom of heaven is within us. (Luke xvii.) Wonder therefore at no monstrous shape, nor at any outward thing without the word: for the world was never drawn from God but with an outward shew and glorious appearance

and shining of hypocrisy, and of feigned and visored fasting, praying, watching, singing, offering, sacrificing, hallowing of superstitious ceremonies, and monstrous disguising. Hypocrites are vain-glorious in all their works.

Take this for an ensample: John Baptist which had testimony of Christ and of the gospel, that there never rose a greater among womens' children, with his fasting, watching, praying, rayment, and strait living, deceived the Jews, and brought them in doubt whether John were very Christ or not, and yet no Scripture or miracle testifying it, so greatly the blind nature of man looketh on the outward shining of works and regardeth not the inward word which speaketh to the heart. When they sent to John asking him whether he were Christ, he denied it. When they asked him what he was, and what he said of himself? he answered not, I am he that watcheth, prayeth, drinketh no wine nor strong drink, eateth neither fish nor flesh, but live with wild honey and grasshoppers, and wear a coat of camel's hair and a girdle of a skin; but said, I am a voice of a crier. My voice only pertaineth to you. Those outward things ye wonder at, pertain to myself, only unto the taming of my body. To you am I a voice only, and that which I preach. My preaching (if it be received into a penitent or repenting heart) shall teach you how to live and please God, according as God shall shed out his grace on every man. John preached repentance, saying, Prepare the Lord's way and make his paths straight. The Lord's way is repentance, and not hypocrisy of man's imagination, and invention. It is not possible that the Lord Christ should come to a man, except he know himself and his sin, and truly repent: make his paths straight:—the paths are the law, if you understand it aright as God hath given it. Christ saith in the xviith of Matt. Elias shall first come, that is, shall come before Christ, and restore all things, meaning of John Baptist. John Baptist did restore the law and the Scripture unto the right sense and understanding, which the Pharisees partly had darkened and made of none effect through their own traditions; (Matt. xv.) Where Christ rebuketh them saying

True preachers must preach repentance.

Matt. xvii.

Matt. xv.

Why transgress ye the commandments of God through your traditions? and partly had corrupted it with glosses and false interpretations, that no man could understand it. Matt. xxiii. Wherefore Christ rebuketh them, (Matt. xxiii.) saying, Woe be to you pharisees, hypocrites, which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men: ye enter not yourselves, neither suffer them that come to enter in: and partly did beguile the people and blind their eyes in disguising themselves, as thou readest in the same xxiiird chapter, how they made broad and large phylacteries, and did all their works to be seen of men, that the people should wonder at their disguisings and visoring themselves otherwise than God hath made them: and partly mocked them with hypocrisy of false holiness, in fasting, Matt. vi. praying, and alms-giving; (Matt. vi.) And this did they for lucre, to be in authority, to sit in the consciences of people, and to be counted as God himself, that people should trust in their holiness, and not in God, as thou readest in the Matt. xxiii. place above rehearsed; (Matt. xxiii.) Woe be to you pharisees, hypocrites, which devour widows' houses under a colour of a long prayer. Counterfeit therefore nothing without the word of God, when thou understandest that it shall teach thee all things, how to apply outward things and whereunto to refer them. Beware of thy good intent, good mind, good affection, or zeal, as they call it. Peter of a good Matt. xvi. mind and of a good affection or zeal, chid Christ, (Matt. xvi.) because that he said he must go to Jerusalem, and there be slain; but Christ called him Satan for his labour, a name that belongeth to the devil, and said, That he perceived not godly things but worldly. Of a good intent, and of a fervent affection to Christ, the sons of Zebedee would have had fire to come down from heaven to consume the Samaritans, Luke ix. (Luke ix.) but Christ rebuked them, saying that they wist not of what Spirit they were: that is, that they understood not how that they were altogether worldly and fleshly minded. Peter smote Malchus of a good zeal, but Christ condemned his deed. The very Jews of a good intent and of a good zeal slew Christ and persecuted the apostles as

The manner and doctrine of hypocrites.

Paul beareth them record; (Rom. x.) I bear them record (saith he) that they have a fervent mind to Godward, but not according to knowledge. It is another thing then, to do of a good mind, and to do of knowledge. Labour for knowledge that thou mayest know God's will, and what he would have thee to do. Our mind, intent and affection or zeal, are blind, and all that we do of them is damned of God, and for that cause hath God made a testament between him and us, wherein is contained both what he would have us to do, and what he would have us to ask of him. See therefore that thou do nothing to please God withal but that he commandeth, neither ask any thing of him, but that he hath promised thee. The Jews also as it appeareth (Acts vii.) slew Stephen of a good zeal; because he proved, by the Scripture, that God dwelleth not in churches or temples made with hands. The churches at the beginning were ordained, that the people should thither resort to hear the word of God there preached only, and not for the use wherein they now are. The temple wherein God will be worshipped, is the heart of man. For God is a Spirit (saith Christ, John iv.) and will be worshipped in the Spirit and in truth: that is, when a penitent heart consenteth unto the law of God, and with a strong faith longeth for the promises of God. So is God honoured on all sides, in that we count him righteous in all his laws and ordinances, and also trust in all his promises. Other worshipping of God is there none, except we make an idol of him.

Rom. x.

No zeal without knowledge is good.

Churches, why they were first ordained.

The true temple of God is the heart of man.

IT shall be recompensed thee, at the rising again of the righteous. (Luke xiv.) Read the text before, and thou shalt perceive that Christ doth here that same that he doth Mat. v. that is, he putteth us in remembrance of our duty, that we be to the poor as Christ is to us, and also teacheth us, how that we can never know whether our love be right, and whether it spring of Christ or no, as long as we are but kind to them only which do as much for us

Luke xvi.

Mat. v.

again. But and we be merciful to the poor, for conscience to God, and of compassion and hearty love, which compassion and love spring of the love we have to God in Christ, for the pure mercy and love that he hath shewed on us: then have we a sure token that we are beloved of God, and washed in Christ's blood, and elect by Christ's deserving unto eternal life.

The manner of the speaking of the Scripture.

The Scripture speaketh as a father doth to his young son, Do this or that, and then will I love thee; yet the father loveth his son first, and studieth with all his power and wit to overcome his child with love, and with kindness to make him do that which is comely, honest, and good for itself. A kind father and mother love their children even when they are evil, that they would shed their blood to make them better, and to bring them into the right way. And a natural child studieth not to obtain his father's love with works, but considereth with what love his father loveth him withal, and therefore loveth again, is glad to do his father's will, and studieth to be thankful.

The wise of this world do not understand the speaking of God in his Scriptures.

The spirit of the world understandeth not the speaking of God, neither the spirit of the wise of this world, neither the spirit of philosophers, neither the spirit of Socrates, of Plato, or of Aristotle's Ethics, as thou mayest see in the first and second chapter of the first to the Corinthians. Though that many are not ashamed to rail and blaspheme, saying, How should he understand the Scripture seeing he is no philosopher, neither hath seen his metaphysic? Moreover they blaspheme, saying, How can he be a divine, and wotteth not what is *subjectum in theologia?* Nevertheless as a man, without the spirit of Aristotle or philosophy, may by the Spirit of God understand Scripture: even so by the Spirit of God understandeth he that God is to be sought in all the Scripture, and in all things, and yet wotteth not what meaneth *subjectum in theologia*, because it is a term of their own making. If thou shouldest say to him that hath the Spirit of God, the love of God is the keeping of the commandments, and to

ThePapists' arguments.

love a man's neighbour is to shew mercy, he would, without arguing or disputing, understand, how that of the love of God springeth the keeping of his commandments, and of the love to thy neighbour springeth mercy. Now would Aristotle deny such speaking, and a Dun's man would make twenty distinctions. If thou shouldest say, (as saith John in the ivth of his Epistle) How can he that loveth not his neighbour whom he seeth, love God whom he seeth not? Aristotle would say, Lo, a man must first love his neighbour and then God, and out of the love to thy neighbour springeth the love to God. But he that feeleth the working of the Spirit of God, and also from what vengeance the blood of Christ hath delivered him, understandeth how that it is impossible to love either father or mother, sister, brother, neighbour, or his own self aright, except it spring out of the love to God, and perceiveth that the love to a man's neighbour is a sign of the love to God, as good fruit declareth a good tree, and that the love to a man's neighbour accompanieth and followeth the love of God, as heat accompanieth and followeth fire.

Likewise when the Scripture saith, Christ shall reward every man at the resurrection, or uprising again, according to his deeds, the spirit of Aristotle's Ethics would say, Lo, with the multitude of good works mayest thou, and must thou, obtain everlasting life. And also a place in heaven high or low, according as thou hast many or few good works: and yet wotteth not what a good work meaneth, as Christ speaketh of good works, as he that seeth not the heart, but outward things only. But he that hath God's Spirit understandeth it. He feeleth that good works are nothing but fruits of love, compassion, mercifulness, and of a tenderness of heart which a Christian hath to his neighbour, and that love springeth of that love which he hath to God, to his will and commandments, and understandeth also, that the love which man hath to God springeth of the infinite love and bottomless mercy which God in Christ shewed first to us,

Aristotle's and Papists' doctrine.

Good works are the fruits of love.

as saith John in the Epistle and Chapter above rehearsed. In this (saith he) appeareth the love of God to usward, because that God sent his only begotten Son into the world that we might live through him. Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to make agreement for our sins. In conclusion, a Christian man feeleth that that unspeakable love and mercy which God hath to us, and that Spirit which worketh all things that are wrought according to the will of God, and that love wherewith we love God, and that love which we have to our neighbour, and that mercy and compassion which we shew on him, and also that eternal life which is laid up in store for us in Christ, are altogether the gift of God, through Christ's purchasing.

God first loved us, and not we him.

If the Scripture said always, Christ shall reward thee according to thy faith, or according to thy hope and trust thou hast in God, or according to the love thou hast to God and thy neighbour, so were it true also as thou seest, 1 Pet. i. Receiving the end or reward of our faith, the health or salvation of your souls. But the spiritual things could not be known save by their works, as a tree cannot be known but by her fruit. How could I know that I loved my neighbour, if never occasion were given me to shew mercy unto him? how should I know that I loved God, if I never suffered for his sake? how should I know that God loved me, if there were no infirmity, temptation, peril and jeopardy whence God should deliver me?

How we understand the love of God to be in us.

THERE is no man that forsaketh house, either father, or mother, either brethren or sisters, wife or children for the kingdom of heavens' sake, which shall not receive much more in this world, and in the world to come everlasting life. (Luke xviii.)

Luke xviii.

Here seest thou that a Christian man in all his works hath respect to nothing, but unto the glory of God only, and to the maintaining of the truth of God, and doth, and leaveth undone all things of love, to the glory and

honour of God only, as Christ teacheth in the *Paternoster*.

Moreover when he saith, He shall receive much more in this world, of a truth, yea he hath received much more already. For except he had felt the infinite mercy, goodness, love, and kindness of God, and the fellowship of the blood of Christ, and the comfort of the Spirit of Christ in his heart, he could never have forsaken any thing for God's sake. Notwithstanding (as saith Mark x.) Whosoever for Christ's sake and the gospel's, forsaketh house, brethren or sisters &c. he shall receive an hundred fold houses, brethren &c. that is spiritually. For Christ shall be all things unto thee. The angels, all Christians, and whosoever doth the will of the father, shall be father, mother, sister and brother unto thee, and all theirs shall be thine. And God shall take the care of thee, and minister all things unto thee, as long as thou seekest but his honour only. Moreover if thou wert Lord over all the world, yea, of ten worlds, before thou knewest God; yet was not thine appetite quenched, thou thirstedst for more. But if thou seek his honour only, then shall he slake thy thirst, and thou shalt have all that thou desirest, and shall be content, yea if thou dwell among infidels, and among the most cruel nations of the world; yet shall he be a father unto thee, and shall defend thee as he did Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and all saints whose lives thou readest in the Scripture. For all that are past and gone before are but ensamples to strengthen our faith and trust in the word of God. It is the same God, and hath sworn to us all that he sware unto them, and is as true as ever he was, and therefore cannot but fulfil his promises to us, as well as he did to them, if we believe as they did.

Whosever for Christ's sake loseth any thing, shall receive an hundred fold.

If we once possess Christ by faith, then have we all in all, and are content with that we have.

The hour shall come when all they that are in the graves shall hear his voice, that is to say, Christ's voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good into the resurrection of life, and they that have done evil into the resurrection of

Here note what followeth of good works.

damnation. (John v.) This, and all like texts, declare what followeth good works, and that our deeds shall testify with us, or against us at that day; and putteth us in remembrance to be diligent, and fervent in doing good. Hereby mayest thou not understand that we obtain the favour of God, and the inheritance of life, through the merits of good works, as hirelings do their wages. For then shouldest thou rob Christ, of whose fulness we have

John i.

received favour for favour; (John i.) that is, God's favour was so full in Christ, that for his sake he giveth us his favour, as affirmeth also Paul, (Eph. i.) He loved us in his beloved, by whom we have (saith Paul) redemption through his blood, and forgiveness of sins. The forgiveness of sins, then, is our redemption in Christ, and not the reward of works. In whom (saith he in the same place) he chose us before the making of the world, that is

By faith in Christ we are made the sons of God.

long before we did good works. Through faith in Christ are we also the sons of God, as thou readest (John i.) In that they believed on his name, he gave them power to be the sons of God. God, with all his fulness and riches, dwelleth in Christ, and out of Christ must we

John iii.

fetch all things. Thou readest also (John iii.) He that believeth on the Son hath eternal life: and he that believeth not shall see no life, but the wrath of God abideth upon him. Here seest thou that the wrath and vengeance of

Faith doth expel the wrath of God.

God possesseth every man till faith come. Faith and trust in Christ expelleth the wrath of God, and bringeth favour, the Spirit, power to do good, and everlasting life. Moreover, until Christ hath given thee light, thou knowest not wherein standeth the goodness of thy works; and until his Spirit hath loosed thine heart, thou canst not consent unto good works. All that is good in us, both will and works, cometh of the favour of God, through Christ, to whom be all the laud. Amen.

IF any man will do his will (he meaneth the will of the Father,) he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of

God, or whether I speak of myself. (John vii.) This text meaneth not that any man of his own strength, power, and free will, (as they call it,) can do the will of God before he hath received the Spirit and strength of Christ, through faith. But here is meant that which is spoken in the iiird of John, when Nicodemus marvelled how it were possible that a man should be born again: Christ answered, That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit; as who should say, He that hath the Spirit through faith, and is born again, and made anew in Christ, understandeth the things of the Spirit, and what he that is spiritual meaneth. But he that is flesh, and as Paul saith, (1 Cor. ii.) a natural man, and led of his blind reason only, can never ascend to the capacity of the Spirit. And he giveth an ensample, saying, The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest his voice, and wottest not whence he cometh, nor whither he will: so is every man that is born of the Spirit: he that speaketh of the Spirit can never be understood of the natural man, which is but flesh, and savoureth no more than things of the flesh. So here meaneth Christ, If any man have the Spirit, and consenteth unto the will of God, this same at once wotteth what I mean.

John vii.

1 Cor. ii.

The natural man, which is but flesh, favoureth not those things that are of the Spirit.

IF ye understand these things, happy are ye if ye do them. (John xiii.) A Christian man's heart is with the will of God, with the law and commandments of God, and hungereth and thirsteth after strength to fulfil them, and mourneth day and night, desiring God, according to his promises, for to give him power to fulfil the will of God with love and lust: then testifieth his deed that he is blessed, and that the Spirit which blesseth us in Christ is in him, and ministereth such strength. The outward deed testifieth what is within us, as thou readest, (John v.) The deeds which I do testify of me, saith Christ. And (John xiii.) Hereby shall all men know that ye are my

John xiii.

John v.

John xiv. disciples, if ye love one another. And (John xiv.) He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, the same it is that loveth me. And again: He that loveth me keepeth my commandments; and he that loveth me not keepeth not my commandments: the outward deed testifieth of the inward heart. And (John xv.) If ye shall keep my commandments ye shall continue in my love, as I keep my Father's commandment, and continue in his love. That is, As ye see the love that I have to my Father, in that I keep his commandments, so shall ye see the love that ye have to me, in that ye keep my commandments.

We are blessed by God only in Christ our Saviour, and not by our works.

Thou mayest not think that our deeds bless us first, and that we prevent God and his grace in Christ, as though we, in our natural gifts, and being as we were born in Adam, looked on the law of God, and of our own strength fulfilled it, and so became righteous, and then, with that righteousness, obtained the favour of God. As philosophers write of righteousness, and as the righteousness of temporal law is, where the law is satisfied with the hypocrisy of the outward deed. For contrary to that readest thou (John xv.) Ye have not chosen me (saith Christ,) but I have chosen you, that ye go and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit remain. And in the same chapter: I am a vine, and ye the branches; and without me can ye do nothing. With us, therefore, so goeth it. In Adam are we all, as it were, wild crab-trees, of which God chooseth whom he will, and plucketh them out of Adam, and planteth them in the garden of his mercy, and stocketh them, and grafteth the Spirit of Christ in them, which bringeth forth the fruit of the will of God; which fruit testifieth that God hath blessed us in Christ. Note this also; that as long as we live we are yet partly carnal and fleshly, (notwithstanding that we are in Christ, and though it be not imputed unto us for Christ's sake,) for there abideth and remaineth in us yet of the old Adam, as it were of the stock of the crab-tree; and ever among, when occasion is given him, shooteth forth his branches and leaves, bud,

John xv.

blossom, and fruit: against whom we must fight and subdue him, and change all his nature by a little and a little, with prayer, fasting, and watching; with virtuous meditation and holy works, until we be altogether spirit. The kingdom of heaven, saith Christ, (Matt. xiii.) is like leaven, which a woman taketh and hideth in three pecks of meal till all be leavened. The leaven is the Spirit, and we the meal, which must be seasoned with the Spirit a little and a little, till we be throughout spiritual.

We must wrestle with our old man, that we may put on Christ. Matt. xiii.

Which shall reward every man according to his deed; (Rom. ii.) That is, according as the deeds are so shall every man's reward be: the deeds declare what we are, as the fruit the tree; according to the fruit shall the tree be praised. The reward is given of the mercy and truth of God, and by the deserving and merits of Christ. Whosoever repenteth, believeth the gospel, and putteth his trust in Christ's merits, the same is heir with Christ of eternal life; for assurance whereof, the Spirit of God is poured into his heart as an earnest, which looseth him from the bonds of Satan, and giveth him lust and strength every day more and more, according as he is diligent to ask of God for Christ's sake: and eternal life followeth good living. I suppose, (saith St. Paul in the same epistle, the viiith chapter,) that the afflictions of this world are not worthy of the glory which shall be shewed on us; that is to say, that which we here suffer can never deserve that reward which there shall be given us.

Rom. ii.

Rom. viii.

Moreover, if the reward should depend and hang of the works, no man should be saved: forasmuch as our best deeds, compared to the law, are damnable sin. By the deeds of the law is no flesh justified, as it is written in the third chapter to the Romans. The law justifieth not, but uttereth the sin only, and compelleth and driveth the penitent, or repenting sinner, to flee unto the sanctuary of mercy in the blood of Christ. Also repent we never so much, be we never so well willing unto the law of God, yet are we so weak, and the snares and occasions so in-

Our best works are damnable in the sight of God without Christ.

numerable, that we fall daily and hourly: so that we could not but despair if the reward hanged of the work. Whosoever ascribeth eternal life unto the deserving and merit of works, must fall in one of two inconveniences; either must he be a blind Pharisee, not seeing that the law is spiritual and he carnal, and look and rejoice in the outward shining of his deeds, despising the weak, and, in respect of them, justify himself; or else (if he see how that the law is spiritual, and he never able to ascend unto that which the law requireth,) he must needs despair.

Christ is our hope and righteousness.

Let every Christian man, therefore, rejoice in Christ our hope, trust, and righteousness, in whom we are loved, chosen, and accepted unto the inheritance of eternal life; neither presuming in our perfectness, neither despairing in our weakness. The perfecter a man is the clearer is his sight, and seeth a thousand things which displease him, and also perfectness that cannot be obtained in this life; and therefore desireth to be with Christ, where is no more sin. Let him that is weak and cannot do that he would fain do, not despair, but turn to Him that is strong, and hath promised to give strength to all that ask of him in Christ's name; and complain to God, and desire him to fulfil his promises, and to God commit himself; and he shall of his mercy and truth strengthen him, and make him feel with what love he is beloved for Christ's sake, though he be never so weak.

Let no man despair, but put his hope in Christ and he shall be safe.

THEY are not righteous before God which hear the law; but they which do the law shall be justified. (Rom. ii.) This text is plainer than that it needeth to be expounded. In the chapter before, Paul proveth that the law natural holp not the Gentiles, (as appeareth by the law, statutes, and ordinances which they made in their cities,) yet kept they them not. The great keep the small under, for their own profit, with the violence of the law. Every man praiseth the law as far forth as it is profitable and pleasant unto himself. But when his own appetites should be re-

Rom. ii.

frained, then grudgeth he against the law. Moreover, he proveth that no knowledge holp the Gentiles. For though the learned men (as the philosophers,) came to the knowledge of God by the creatures of the world, yet had they no power to worship God. In this second chapter proveth he that the Jews, (though they had the law written,) yet it holp them not: they could not keep it, but were idolaters, and were also murderers, adulterers, and whatsoever the law forbad. He concludeth, therefore, that the Jew is as well damned as the Gentile. If hearing of the law only might have justified, then had the Jews been righteous. But it requireth that a man do the law if he will be righteous; which, because the Jew did not, he is no less damned than the Gentile. The publishing and declaring of the law doth but utter a man's sin, and giveth neither strength nor help to fulfil the law. The law killeth thy conscience, and giveth thee no lust to fulfil the law. Faith in Christ giveth lust and power to do the law. Now, is it true, that he which doth the law is righteous, but that doth no man save he that believeth and putteth his trust in Christ.

No man can fulfil the law but he that believeth in Christ.

IF any man's work that he hath built upon abide, he shall receive a reward. (1 Cor. ii.) The circumstance of the same chapter, that is to wit, that which goeth before and that which followeth, declareth plainly what is meant. Paul talketh of learning, doctrine, or preaching: he saith that he himself hath laid the foundation, which is Jesus Christ, and that no man can lay any other. He exhorteth, therefore, every man to take heed what he buildeth upon; and borroweth a similitude of the goldsmith which trieth his metals with fire, saying that the fire, that is, the judgment of the Scripture, shall try every man's work, that is, every man's preaching and doctrine. If any build upon the foundation laid of Paul, I mean Jesus Christ, gold, silver, or precious stone, which are all one thing, and signify true doctrine, which, when it is exa-

1 Cor. ii.

Christ is the sure foundation.

mined, the Scripture alloweth; then shall he have his reward, that is, he shall be sure that his learning is of God, and that God's Spirit is in him, and that he shall have the reward that Christ hath purchased for him. On the other side, if any man build thereon timber, hay, or stubble, which are all one, and signify doctrine of man's imagination, traditions, and fantasies, which stand not with Christ when they are judged and examined by the Scripture, he shall suffer damage, but shall be saved himself, yet as it were through fire; that is, it shall be painful unto him that he hath lost his labour, and to see his building perish; notwithstanding, if he repent, and embrace the truth in Christ, he shall obtain mercy and be saved. But if Paul were now alive, and would defend his own learning, he should be tried through fire; not through fire of the judgment of Scripture, (for that light men now utterly refuse,) but by the Pope's law, and with fire of fagots.

Man's foundation is feeble.

We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, for to receive every man according to the deeds of his body: (2 Cor. v.) As thy deeds testify of thee so shall thy reward be. Thy deeds be evil, then is the wrath of God upon thee, and thine heart is evil; and so shall thy reward be, if thou repent not. Fear, therefore, and cry to God for grace, that thou mayest love his laws. And when thou lovest them, cease not till thou have obtained power of God to fulfil them; so shalt thou be sure that a good reward shall follow. Which reward, not thy deeds, but Christ's have purchased for thee; whose purchasing also is that lust which thou hast to God's law, and that might wherewith thou fulfillest them. Remember also, that a reward is rather called that which is given freely, than that which is deserved. That which is deserved is called (if thou wilt give him his right name,) hire or wages. A reward is given freely, to provoke unto love and to make friends.

2 Cor. v.

Christ rewardeth his own works in us.

Remember, that whatsoever good thing any man doth,

that shall he receive of the Lord: (Eph. vi.) remembering that ye shall receive of the Lord the reward of inheritance. (Col. iii.) These two texts are exceeding plain. Paul meaneth, as Peter doth, (1 Pet. ii.) that servants should obey their masters with all their hearts, and with good will, though they were never so evil. Yea, he will that all who are under power obey, even of heart, and of conscience to God, because God will have it so, be the rulers never so wicked. The children must obey father and mother, be they never so cruel or unkind; likewise the wife her husband, the servant his master, the subjects and commons their lord or king. Why? For ye serve the Lord, saith he in Coloss. iii. We are Christ's, and Christ has bought us, as thou readest Rom. xiv. 1 Cor. vi. 1 Pet. i. Christ is our Lord, and we his possession, and his also is the commandment. Now, ought not the cruelness and churlishness of father and mother, of husband, master, lord, or king, cause us to hate the commandment of our so kind a Lord Christ; which spared not his blood for our sakes; which also hath purchased for us with his blood that reward of eternal life, which life shall follow the patience of good living, and whereunto our good deeds testify that we are chosen. Furthermore, we are so carnal, that if the rulers be good, we cannot know whether we keep the commandment for the love that we have to Christ, and to God through him, or no. But and if thou canst find in thine heart, to do good unto him that rewardeth thee evil again, then art thou sure that the same Spirit is in thee that is in Christ. And it followeth in the same chapter to the Colossians, He that doth wrong shall receive for the wrong that he hath done. That is, God shall avenge thee abundantly, which seeth what wrong is done unto thee, and yet suffereth it for a time, that thou mightest feel thy patience and the working of his Spirit in thee, and be made perfect. Therefore, see that thou not once desire vengeance, but remit all vengeance unto God, as Christ did, which saith Peter, (1 Pet. ii.) when

Eph. vi.

Coloss. iii.

We must obey the magistrates, because God will have it so.

Rom. xiv. 1 Cor. vi. 1 Pet. i.

A good lesson to teach us to know when we have the Spirit of God.

Remit all vengeance to God.

he was reviled, reviled not again, neither threatened when he suffered. Unto such obedience, unto such patience, unto such a poor heart, and unto such feeling, is Paul's meaning to bring all men, and not unto the vain disputing of them that ascribe so high a place in heaven unto their pilled merits; which, as they feel not the working of God's Spirit, so obey they no man. If the king do unto them but right, they will interdict the whole realm, curse, excommunicate, and send them down far beneath the bottom of hell, as they have brought the people out of their wits, and made them mad to believe.

The fury of the Popish clergy.

Acts x.

THY prayers and alms are come up into remembrance in the presence of God; (in the Acts x.) that is, God forgetteth thee not, though he cometh not at the first calling, he looketh on and beholdeth thy prayers and alms. Prayer cometh from the heart. God looketh first on the heart and then on the deed, as thou readest (Gen. iv.) God beheld or looked first on Abel, and then on his offering. If the heart be unpure the deed verily pleaseth not, as thou seest in Cain. Mark the order, in the beginning of the chapter thou readest, There was a certain man named *Cornelius* which feared God, gave much alms, and prayed God alway. He feared God, that is, he trembled and quaked to break the commandments of God. Then prayed he alway. Prayer is the fruit, effect, deed or act of faith, and is nothing but the longing of the heart for those things which a man lacketh, and which God hath promised to give him. He doth also alms, alms is the fruit, effect, or deed of compassion and pity which we have to our neighbour. O a glorious faith and a right which so trusteth God, and believeth his promises, that she feareth to break his commandments, and is also merciful unto her neighbour! This is that faith whereof thou readest, namely in Peter, Paul, and John, that we are thereby both justified and saved, and whosoever imagineth any other faith deceiveth himself and is a vain disputer, and a brawler about words, and hath no feeling in his heart.

Prayer is the fruit of faith.

Lively faith is not without works.

Though thou consent to the law, that it is good, righteous, and holy, sorrowest and repentest, because thou hast broken it, mournest because thou hast no strength to fulfil it, yet art not thou thereby at one with God: yea, thou shouldest shortly despair and blaspheme God, if the promises of forgiveness and of help were not thereby, and faith in thine heart to believe them; faith therefore setteth thee at one with God.

Faith maketh us at one with God.

Faith prayeth always. For she hath always her infirmities and weaknesses before her eyes, and also God's promises, for which she always longeth, and in all places. But blind unbelief prayeth not alway, nor in all places, but in the church only, and that in such a church where it is not lawful to preach God's promises, neither to teach men to trust therein. Faith, when she prayeth, setteth not her good deeds before her, saying, Lord, for my good deeds do this or that; nor bargaineth with God, saying, Lord, grant me this, or do this or that, and I will do this or that for thee; as mumble so much daily, go so far, or fast this or that fast, enter this religion or that, with such other points of infidelity, yea, rather idolatry; but she setteth her infirmities and her lack before her face, and God's promises, saying, Lord, for thy mercy and truth which thou hast sworn, be merciful unto me, and pluck me out of this prison and out of this hell, and loose the bonds of Satan, and give me power to glorify thy name: faith therefore justifieth in the heart and before God, and the deeds justify outwardly before the world, that is, testify only before men, what we are inwardly before God.

Faith prayeth always and in all places.

The prayer of a faithful man.

Whosoever looketh in the perfect law of liberty and continueth therein, (if he be not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work) he shall be happy in his deed: (James i.) The law of liberty, that is, which requireth a free heart, or if thou fulfil it, declareth a free heart, loosed from the bonds of Satan. The preaching of the law maketh no man free, but bindeth, for it is the key that bindeth all conciences unto eternal damnation, when it is preached; as the pro-

James i.

mises or gospel is the key that looseth all consiences that repent, when they are bound through preaching of the law. He shall be happy in his deed, that is, by his deed shall he know that he is happy and blessed of God, which hath given him a good heart, and power to fulfil the law; by hearing the law thou shalt not know that thou art blessed, but if thou do it, it declareth that thou art happy and blessed.

James iii. WAS not Abraham justified of his deeds when he offered his son Isaac upon the altar? (James iii.) His deed justified him before the world, that is, it declared and uttered the faith which both justified him before God, and wrought that wonderful work, as James also affirmeth.

Was not Rahab the harlot justified when she received the messengers, and sent them out another way? (James iii.) That is likewise outwardly, but before God she was justified by faith which wrought that outward deed, as thou mayest see, Josh. ii. She had heard what God had done in Egypt, in the red sea, in the desert, and unto the two kings of the Amoreans, Sihon and Og. And she confessed saying, Your Lord God, he is God in heaven above and in earth beneath. She also believed that God, as he had promised the children of Israel, would give them the land wherein she dwelt; and consented thereunto, submitted herself unto the will of God, and holp God, (as much as in her was) and saved his spies and messengers. The other feared that which she believed, but resisted God with all their might, and had no power to submit themselves unto the will of God. And therefore perished they, and she was saved and that through faith: as we read Heb. xi. where thou mayest see how the holy fathers were saved through faith, and how faith wrought in them. Faith is the goodness of all the deeds that are done within the law of God, and maketh them good and glorious, seem they never so vile; and unbelief maketh them damnable, seem they never so glorious.

Faith is the goodness of all the deeds that are done within the law of God.

James iii. As pertaining to that which James in this iiird chapter

saith, What availeth though a man say that he hath faith if he have no deeds? can faith save him? and again, faith without deeds is dead in itself; and the devils believe and tremble: and as the body without the spirit is dead, even so faith without deeds is dead; it is manifest and clear, that he meaneth not of the faith whereof Peter and Paul speak in their epistles. John in his gospel and first epistle, and Christ in the gospel, when he saith, Thy faith hath made thee safe, be it to thee according to thy faith, or great is thy faith, and so forth; and of which James himself speaketh in the first chapter, saying, Of his own will begat he us with the word of life, that is, in believing the the promises wherein is life, are we made the sons of God.

Which thing I also thiswise prove: Paul saith how shall or can they believe without a preacher? how should they preach except they were sent? Now I pray you when was it heard that God sent any man to preach unto the devils, or that he made them any good promise? He threateneth them oft, but never sent any ambassadors to preach any atonement between him and them. Take an ensample that thou mayest understand: let there be two poor men both destitute of rayment in a cold winter, the one strong that he feeleth no grief, the other grievously mourning for pain of the cold. I then come by, and, moved with pity and compassion, say unto him that feeleth his disease, Come to such a plac eand I will give thee raiment sufficient. He believeth, cometh and obtaineth that which I have promised. That other seeth all this and knoweth it, but is partaker of nought, for he hath no faith, and that is because there is no promise made him. So is it of the devils, the devils have no faith, for faith is but earnest believing of God's promises. Now are there no promises made unto the devils, but sore threatenings. The old philosophers knew that there was one God, but yet had no faith, for they had no power to seek his will, neither to worship him. The Turks and the Saracens know that there is one God, but

An example.

Turks have no faith and yet know there is a God.

yet have no faith, for they have no power to worship God in spirit, to seek his pleasure, and to submit them unto his will. They made an idol of God, (as we do for the most part) and worshipped him every man after his own imagination, and for a sundry purpose. What we will have done, that must God do, and to do our will worship we hymn and pray unto him; but what God will have done, that will neither Turk nor Saracen, nor the most part of us do. Whatsoever we imagine righteous, that must God admit; but God's righteousness will not our hearts admit.

An example.

Take another ensample: let there be two such as I spake of before, and I promise both, and the one because he feeleth not his disease cometh not: so is it of God's promises: no man is holpen by them but sinners that feel their sins, mourn and sorrow for them, and repent with all their hearts. For John Baptist went before Christ and preached repentance, that is, he preached the law of God right, and brought the people into knowledge of themselves, and unto the fear of God, and then sent them unto Christ to be healed. For in Christ and for his sake only, hath God promised to receive us unto mercy, to forgive us, and to give us power to resist sin. How shall God save thee, when thou knowest not thy damnation? how shall Christ deliver thee from sin, when thou wilt not knowledge thy sin? Now I pray thee how many thousands are there of them that say, I believe that Christ was born of a virgin, that he died, that he rose again, and so forth, and thou canst not bring them in belief that they have any sin at all! How many are there of the same sort, which thou canst not make believe that a thousand things are sin which God damneth for sin all the Scripture throughout! as to buy as good cheap as he can, and to sell as dear as he can, to raise the market of corn and victuals for his own vantage, without respect of his neighbour, or of the poor of the common wealth, and such like. Moreover how many hundred thousand are there, which when they have sinned, and knowledge their sins; yet trust in a bald ceremony, or in

Sins that are exempted no sins.

a lousy friar's coat and merits, or in the prayers of them that devour widows' houses, and eateth the poor out of house and harbour, in a thing of his own imagination, in a foolish dream, and a false vision; and not in Christ's blood, and in the truth that God hath sworn! All these are faithless, for they follow their own righteousness, and are disobedient unto all manner [of] righteousness of God: both unto the righteousness of God's law, wherewith he damneth all our deeds, (for though some of them see their sins for fear of pain, yet had they rather that such deeds were no sin,) and also unto the righteousness of the truth of God in his promises, whereby he saveth all that repent and believe them. For though they believe that Christ died, yet believe they not that he died for their sins, and that his death is a sufficient satisfaction for their sins, and that God for his sake will be a father unto them, and give them power to resist sin.

Faithless fruits.

Paul saith to the Romans in the xth chapter, If thou confess with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believe with thine heart that God raised him up from death, thou shalt be safe. That is, if thou believe he raised him up again for thy salvation. Many believe that God is rich and almighty, but not unto themselves, and that he will be good unto them, and defend them, and be their God.

Rom. x.

Pharaoh for pain of the plague, was compelled to confess his sins, but had yet no power to submit himself unto the will of God, and to let the children of Israel go, and to lose so great profit for God's pleasure, As our prelates confess their sins, saying, Though we be never so evil, yet have we the power. And again, the scribes and pharisees (say they) sat in Moses's seat, do as they teach, but not as they do; thus confess they that they are abominable. But to the second I answer, if they sat on Christ's seat they would preach Christ's doctrine, now preach they their own traditions, and therefore not to be heard. If they preached Christ, we ought to hear them

Pharaoh confessed his sins.

though they were never so abominable, as they of themselves confess, and have yet no power to amend, neither to let loose Christ's flock to serve God in the Spirit, which they hold captive, compelling them to serve their false lies. The devils felt the power of Christ, and were compelled against their wills to confess that he was the Son of God, but had no power to be content therewith, neither to consent unto the ordinance and eternal counsel of the everlasting God; as our prelates feel the power of God against them, but yet have no grace to give room unto Christ, because that they (as the devil's nature is) will themselves sit in his holy temple, that is to wit, the consciences of men.

The devils confessed Christ to be the Son of God.

Simon Magus believed, (Acts. iii.) with such a faith as the devils confessed Christ, but had no right faith, as thou seest in the said chapter. For he repented not, consenting unto the law of God. Neither believed the promises or longed for them, but wondered only at the miracles which Philip wrought, and because that he himself in Philip's presence had no power to use his witchcraft, sorcery and art magic, wherewith he mocked and deluded the wits of the people. He would have bought the gift of God, to have sold it much dearer, as his successors now do, and not the successors of Simon Peter. For were they Simon Peter's successors, they would preach Christ as he did; but they are Simon Magus's successors, of which Simon Peter well prophesied in the second chapter of his second Epistle, saying, There were false prophets among the people (meaning of the Jews) even as there shall be false teachers or doctors among you, which privily shall bring in sects damnable, (sects is part-taking, as one holdeth of Francis, another of Dominic, which thing also Paul rebuketh, 1 Cor. i. and iii.) even denying the Lord that bought them (for they will not be saved by Christ, neither suffer any man to preach him to other.) And many shall follow their damnable ways, (thou wilt say, Shall God suffer so many to go out of the right way so

Simon Magus's faith.

2 Pet ii.

1 Cor. i. 3.

long? I answer, many must follow their damnable ways, or else must Peter be a false prophet) by which the way of truth shall be evil spoken of, (as it is now at this present time, for it is heresy to preach the truth) and through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you. Of their merchandise and covetousness it needeth not to make rehearsal, for they that be blind see it evidently.

Thus seest thou that James, when he saith, Faith without deeds is dead, and as the body without the spirit is dead, so is faith without deeds, and the devils believe; that he meaneth not of the faith and trust that we have in the truth of God's promises, and his holy Testament, made unto us in Christ's blood; which faith followeth repentance, and the consent of the heart unto the law of God, and maketh a man safe, and setteth him at peace with God. But speaketh of that false opinion and imagination wherewith some say, I believe that Christ was born of a virgin, and that he died, and so forth. That believe they verily, and so strongly, that they are ready to slay whosoever would say the contrary. But they believe not that Christ died for their sins, and that his death hath appeased the wrath of God, and hath obtained for them all that God hath promised in the Scripture. For how can they believe that Christ died for their sins, and that he is their only and sufficient Saviour, seeing that they seek other Saviours of their own imagination, and seeing that they feel not their sins, neither repent, except that some repent (as I above said) for fear of pain, but for no love, nor consent unto the law of God, nor longing that they have for those good promises which he hath made them in Christ's blood. If they repented and loved the law of God, and longed for that help which God hath promised to give to all that call on him for Christ's sake, then verily must God's truth give them power and strength to do good works, whensoever occasion were given, either must God be a false God. But let God be true, and every man a liar as Scripture saith. For the truth of God lasteth ever, to whom only be all honour and glory for ever. Amen.

An epitome or brief recital of that which is entreated of before.

Be not offended, most dear reader, that divers things are overseen, through negligence in this little treatise. For verily the chance was such, that I marvel that it is so well as it is. Moreover it becometh the book even so to come as a mourner, and in vile apparel to wait on his master, which sheweth himself now again, not in honour and glory, as between Moses and Elias; but in rebuke and shame, as between two murderers, to try his true friends, and to prove whether there be any faith on the earth.

THE

OBEDIENCE OF A CHRISTIAN MAN,

AND

HOW CHRISTIAN RULERS OUGHT TO GOVERN.

WHEREIN ALSO (IF THOU MARK DILIGENTLY) THOU SHALT FIND EYES TO PERCEIVE THE CRAFTY CONVEYANCE OF ALL JUGGLERS.

WILLIAM TYNDALE

OTHERWISE CALLED HITCHINS,

TO THE READER.

GRACE, peace, and increase of knowledge in our Lord Jesus Christ be with thee, reader, and with all that call on the name of the Lord unfeignedly, and with a pure conscience. Amen.

Let it not make thee despair, neither yet discourage thee, O reader, that it is forbidden thee in pain of life and goods, or that it is made breaking of the king's peace, or treason unto his highness to read the word of thy soul's health; but much rather be bold in the Lord and comfort thy soul, forasmuch as thou art sure, and hast an evident token through such persecution, that it is the true word of God; which word is ever hated of the world, neither was ever without persecution, (as thou seest in all the stories of the Bible, both of the New Testament and also of the Old,) neither can be, no more than the sun can be without his light. And forasmuch as contrarywise, thou art sure that the Pope's doctrine is not of God, which, as thou seest, is so agreeable unto the world, and is so received of the world, or which rather so receiveth the world and the pleasures of the world, and seeketh nothing but the possessions of the world, and authority in the

The nature of God's word is to be persecuted.

The Pope is received and receiveth and persecuteth.

world, and to bear a rule in the world; and persecuteth the word of God, and with all wiliness driveth people from it, and with false and sophistical reasons maketh them afraid of it: yea curseth them and excommunicateth them, and bringeth them in belief that they be damned if they look on it; and that it is but doctrine to deceive men; and moveth the blind powers of the world to slay, with fire, water, and sword, all that cleave unto it: for the world loveth that which is his, and hateth that which is chosen out of the world to serve God in the Spirit, as Christ saith to his disciples, John xv. If ye were of the world the world would love his own; but I have chosen you out of the world, and therefore the world hateth you.

Love of the world is hatred of God and his holy gospel.

Another comfort hast thou, that as the weak powers of the world defend the doctrine of the world: so the mighty power of God defendeth the doctrine of God, which thing thou shalt evidently perceive if thou call to mind the wonderful deeds which God hath ever wrought for his word in extreme necessity, since the world began, beyond all man's reason, which are written, as Paul saith, (Rom. xv.) for our learning and not for our deceiving, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scripture, might have hope. The nature of God's word is to fight against hypocrites. It began at Abel, and hath ever since continued, and shall, I doubt not, until the last day. And the hypocrites have alway the world on their sides, as thou seest in the

God defendeth his doctrine himself.

God's word fighteth against hypocrites.

time of Christ; they had the elders, that is to wit, the rulers of the Jews on their side; they had Pilate and the emperor's power on their side; they had Herod also on their side: moreover they brought all their worldly wisdom to pass, and all that they could think or imagine to serve for their purpose. First, to fear the people withal, they excommunicated all that believed in him, and put them out of the temple, as thou seest John ix. Secondly, they found the means to have him condemned by the emperor's power, and made it treason to Cæsar to believe in him. Thirdly, they obtained to have him hanged as a thief or a murderer, which after their belly wisdom, was a cause above all causes that no man should believe in him: for the Jews take it for a sure token of everlasting damnation, if a man be hanged; for it written in their law, (Deut. xxi.) Cursed is whosoever hangeth on [a] tree. Moses also in the same place commandeth, If any man be hanged to take him down the same day and bury him, for fear of polluting or defiling the country, that is, lest they should bring the wrath and curse of God upon them. And therefore the wicked Jews themselves, which with so venomous hate persecuted the doctrine of Christ, and did all the shame that they could do unto him, though they would fain have had Christ to hang still on the cross, and there to rot, as he should have done by the emperor's law: yet for fear of defiling their sabbath, and of bringing the wrath and curse of God upon them, begged

How our master Christ was entreated.

The craft of the hypocrites.

of Pilate to take him down, (John xix.) which was against themselves.

Finally, when they had done all they could, and that they thought sufficient, and when Christ was in the heart of the earth, and so many bills and poleaxes about him, to keep him down, and when it was past man's help, then holp God. When man could not bring him again, God's truth fetched him again. The oath that God had sworn to Abraham, to David, and to other holy fathers and prophets, raised him up again to bless and save all that believe in him. Thus became the wisdom of the hypocrites foolishness. Lo, this was written for thy learning and comfort.

God's truth worketh wonders and maketh the wisdom of the hypocrites foolishness.

How wonderfully were the children of Israel locked in Egypt! In what tribulation, cumbrance, and adversity were they in! The land also that was promised them was far off, and full of great cities, walled with high walls up to the sky, and inhabited with great giants; yet God's truth brought them out of Egypt, and planted them in the land of the giants. This is also written for our learning: for there is no power against God's, neither any wisdom against God's wisdom: he is stronger and wiser than all his enemies. What holp it Pharaoh to drown the men children: so little, (I fear not,) shall it at the last help the pope and his bishops, to burn our men children, which manfully confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord, and that there is no other name given unto men to be saved by, as Peter testifieth, Acts iv.

The captivity of the Israelites under Pharaoh.

If God be with us who can be against us?

Pharaoh slayeth the men children.

Who dried up the red sea? who slew Goliath?

who did all those wonderful deeds which thou readest in the Bible? who delivered the Israelites evermore from thraldom and bondage, as soon as they repented and turned to God? Faith verily, and God's truth, and the trust in the promises which he had made. Read the xith to the Hebrews for thy consolation.

When the children of Israel were ready to despair for the greatness and the multitude of the giants, Moses comforted them ever, saying, Remember what your Lord God hath done for you in Egypt, his wonderful plagues, his miracles, his wonders, his mighty hand, his stretched out arm, and what he hath done for you hitherto. He shall destroy them, he shall take their hearts from them, and make them fear and fly before you. He shall storm them, and stir up a tempest among them, and scatter them, and bring them to nought. He hath sworn, he is true, he will fulfil the promises that he hath made unto Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. This is written for our learning: for verily he is a true God, and is our God as well as theirs, and his promises are with us, as well as with them; and he present with us as well as he was with them. If we ask, we shall obtain; if we knock, he will open; if we seek, we shall find; if we thirst, his truth shall fulfil our lust. Christ is with us until the world's end. (Matt. the last.) Let this little flock be bold therefore: for if God be on our side, what matter maketh it who be against us? be they bishops, cardinals, popes, or whatsoever names they will.

How Moses comforteth the Israelites.

God's truth fighteth for us.

God trieth the faith of his children.

Mark this also, if God send thee to the sea, and promise to go with thee, and to bring thee safe to land, he will raise up a tempest against thee, to prove whether thou wilt abide by his word, and that thou mayest feel thy faith and perceive his goodness: for if it were always fair weather and thou never brought into such jeopardy whence his mercy only delivered thee; thy faith should be but a presumption, and thou shouldest be ever unthankful to God and merciless unto thy neighbour.

God worketh backward.

If God promise riches, the way thereto is poverty. Whom he loveth, him he chasteneth: whom he exalteth, he casteth down: whom he saveth, he damneth first: he bringeth no man to heaven, except he send him to hell first: if he promise life, he slayeth first: when he buildeth, he casteth all down first: he is no patcher, he cannot build on another man's foundation: he will not work until all be past remedy, and brought unto such a case, that men may see, how that his hand, his power, his mercy, his goodness, and truth, hath wrought altogether. He will let no man be partaker with him of his praise and glory: his works are wonderful, and contrary unto man's works. Whoever, save he, delivered his own son, his only son, his dear son, unto the death, and that for his enemies' sake: to win his enemy, to overcome him with love, that he might see love, and love again, and of love to do likewise to other men, and to overcome them with well doing.

Joseph saw the sun and the moon, and the twelve stars worshipping him. Nevertheless, ere that came to pass, God laid him where he could neither see sun nor moon, neither any star of the sky, and that many years; and also undeserved; to nurture him, to humble, to meek, and to teach him God's ways, and to make him apt and meet for the room and honour against he came to it, that he might perceive and feel that it came of God, and that he might be strong in the Spirit to minister it godly. Joseph.

He promised the children of Israel a land with rivers of milk and honey; but brought them for the space of forty years into a land, where not only rivers of milk and honey were not, but where so much as a drop of water was not; to nurture them, and to teach them, as a father doth his son, and to do them good at the latter end; and that they might be strong in their spirit and souls, to use his gifts and benefits godly, and after his will. Israelites.

He promised David a kingdom, and immemediately stirred up king Saul against him to persecute him; to hunt him as men do hares with greyhounds, and to ferret him out of every hole, and that for the space of many years; to tame him, to meek him, to kill his lusts; to make him feel other men's diseases; to make him merciful; to make him understand that he was made king to minister and to serve his brethren, and that he should not think that his subjects were made to minister unto his lusts, and that it were David.

lawful for him to take away from them life and goods at his pleasure.

How bishops instruct kings.

Oh, that our kings were so nurtured now-a-days! which our holy bishops teach of a far other manner, saying, Your Grace shall take your pleasure; yea, take what pleasure you list, spare nothing; we shall dispense with you, we have power, we are God's vicars: and let us alone with the realm, we shall take pain for you, and see that nothing be well: your Grace shall but defend the faith only.

Whereunto a Christian is called.

Let us, therefore, look diligently whereunto we are called, that we deceive not ourselves. We are called, not to dispute as the Pope's disciples do; but to die with Christ, that we may live with him; and to suffer with him, that we may reign with him. We be called unto a kingdom that must be won by suffering only, as a sick man winneth health. God is he that doth all things for us, and fighteth for us, and we do but suffer only. Christ saith, (John xx.) As my Father sent me, so send I you; and (John xv.) If they persecute me, then shall they persecute you: and Christ saith, (Matt. x.) I send you forth as sheep among wolves. The sheep fight not, but the shepherd fighteth for them, and careth for them. Be harmless as doves, therefore, saith Christ, and wise as serpents. The doves imagine no defence, nor seek to avenge themselves. The serpent's wisdom is, to keep his head, and those parts wherein his life resteth. Christ is our head, and God's word is that

Our fighting is to suffer while God fighteth for us.

The wisdom of the serpent.

wherein our life resteth. To cleave, therefore, fast unto Christ, and unto those promises which God hath made us for his sake, is our wisdom. Beware of men, (saith he,) for they shall deliver you up unto their councils, and shall scourge you; and ye shall be brought before rulers and kings for my sake: the brother shall betray, or deliver, the brother to death, and the father the son; and the children shall rise against father and mother, and put them to death. Hear what Christ saith more: The disciple is not greater than his master, neither the servant greater, or better than his lord. If they have called the good man of the house Beelzebub, how much rather shall they call his household servants so? And (Luke xivth.) saith Christ, Which of you, disposed to build a tower, sitteth not down first and counteth the cost, whether he have sufficient to perform it? Lest when he hath laid the foundation, and then not able to perform it, all that behold it begin to mock him, saying, This man began to build, and was not able to make an end: so likewise, none of you that forsaketh not all that he hath, can be my disciple. Whosoever, therefore, casteth not this aforehand, I must jeopard life, goods, honour, worship, (and all that there is, for Christ's sake,) deceiveth himself, and maketh a mock of himself, to the godless hypocrites and infidels. No man can serve two masters, God and Mammon; that is to say, wicked riches also. (Matt. vi.) Thou must love Christ above all things: but that doest thou not if thou be not ready to forsake all for his

He maketh a mock of himself that casteth not the end ere he begin.

How is the Pope sure, which taketh all for Christ's sake, but forsaketh nought.

sake: if thou have forsaken all for his sake, then art thou sure that thou lovest him. Tribulation is our right baptism, and is signified by plunging into the water. We that are baptized in the name of Christ (saith Paul, Rom. vi.) are baptized to die with him.

Tribulation is our baptism.

The Spirit, through tribulation, purgeth us, and killeth our fleshly wit, our worldly understanding, and belly-wisdom, and filleth us full of the wisdom of God. Tribulation is a blessing that cometh of God, as witnesseth Christ, (Matt. v.) Blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for their's is the kingdom of heaven. Is not this a comfortable word? Who ought not rather to choose, and desire to be blessed with Christ in a little tribulation, than to be cursed perpetually with the world for a little pleasure?

Tribulation is a blessing.

Prosperity is a right curse, and a thing that God giveth to his enemies. Woe be to you rich, saith Christ, (Luke vi.) lo, ye have your consolation: woe be to you that are full, for ye shall hunger: woe be to you that laugh, for ye shall weep: woe be to you when men praise you, for so did their fathers unto the false prophets: yea, and so have our fathers done to the false hypocrites. The hypocrites, with worldly preaching, have not gotten the praise only, but even the possessions also, and the dominion and rule of the whole world.

Prosperity is a curse.

Tribulation for righteousness is not a blessing only, but also a gift that God giveth unto none save his special friends. The apostles (Acts v.) rejoiced that they were counted worthy to suffer rebuke for Christ's sake. And Paul, in the second

Tribulation is the gift of God.

Epistle and third chapter to Timothy, saith, All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution: and (Phil. i.) he saith, Unto you it is given not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake. Here seest thou that it is God's gift to suffer for Christ's sake. 1 Peter iv. saith, Happy are ye if ye suffer for the name of Christ; for the glorious Spirit of God resteth in you. Is it not an happy thing, to be sure, that thou art sealed with God's Spirit to everlasting life? And, verily, thou art sure thereof, if thou suffer patiently for his sake. By suffering art thou sure; but by persecuting canst thou never be sure: for Paul, (Rom. v.) saith, Tribulation maketh feeling; that is, it maketh us feel the goodness of God, and his help, and the working of his Spirit. And the xii. chap. of the 2 Epistle to the Corinthians the Lord said to Paul, My grace is sufficient for thee; for my strength is made perfect through weakness. (2 Cor. xii.) Lo, Christ is never strong in us till we be weak. As our strength abateth, so groweth the strength of Christ in us: when we are clean emptied of our own strength, then are we full of Christ's strength: and, look, how much of our own strength remaineth in us, so much lacketh there of the strength of Christ. Therefore saith Paul, in the said place in the second Epistle to the Corinthians, Very gladly will I rejoice in my weakness, that the strength of Christ may dwell in me. Therefore have I delectation, saith Paul, in infirmities, in rebukes, in need, in persecutions, and in anguish for Christ's

Whereby, then, are the Pope and bishops sure?

The weaker to the world the stronger to Christ.

Weakness of the flesh is the strength of the Spirit. Flesh.

sake; for when I am weak then am I strong. Meaning, that the weakness of the flesh is the strength of the Spirit. And by flesh understand wit, wisdom, and all that is in a man before the Spirit of God come; and whatsoever springeth not of the Spirit of God, and of God's word. And of like testimonies is all the Scripture full.

In two things we are put to our choice.

Behold, God setteth before us a blessing and also a curse. A blessing, verily, and that a glorious and an everlasting, if we suffer tribulation and adversity with our Lord and Saviour Christ. And an everlasting curse, if, for a little pleasure sake, we withdraw ourselves from the chastising and nurture of God, wherewith he teacheth all his sons, and fashioneth them after his godly will, and maketh them perfect (as he did Christ,) and maketh them apt and meet vessels to receive his grace and his Spirit, that they might perceive and feel the exceeding mercy which we have in Christ, and the innumerable blessings, and the unspeakable inheritance, whereto we are called and chosen, and sealed in our Saviour Jesus Christ, unto whom be praise for ever. Amen.

The difference between the children of God and of the devil.

Finally: whom God chooseth to reign everlastingly with Christ, him sealeth he with his mighty Spirit, and poureth strength into his heart, to suffer afflictions also with Christ, for bearing witness unto the truth. And this is the difference between the children of God and of salvation, and between the children of the devil and of damnation: that the children of God

have power in their hearts to suffer for God's word, which is their life and salvation, their hope and trust, and whereby they live in the soul and Spirit before God. And the children of the devil, in time of adversity, fly from Christ, whom they followed feignedly; their hearts not sealed with his holy and mighty Spirit, and get them to the standard of their right father the devil, and take his wages, the pleasures of this world, which are the earnest of everlasting damnation: which conclusion the xiith chapter to the Hebrews well confirmeth, saying, My son, despise not thou the chastising of the Lord, neither faint when thou art rebuked of him: for whom the Lord loveth, him he chastiseth; yea, and he scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. Lo, persecution and adversity for the truth's sake is God's scourge, and God's rod, and pertaineth unto all his children indifferently: for when he saith he scourgeth every son, he maketh none exception. Moreover, saith the text, if ye shall endure chastising, God offereth himself unto you as unto sons. What son is it that the Father chastiseth not? If ye be not under correction, (whereof all are partakers,) then are ye bastards, and not sons.

The devil's wages.

All God's children are under chastising.

Forasmuch, then, as we must needs be baptized in tribulations, and through the red sea, and a great and a fearful wilderness, and a land of cruel giants, into our natural country; yea, and inasmuch as it is a plain earnest that there is no other way into the kingdom of life than

Which way go the bishops to heaven then?

through persecution, and suffering of pain, and of very death, after the ensample of Christ: therefore let us arm our souls with the comfort of the Scriptures: how that God is ever ready at hand in time of need to help us; and how that such tyrants and persecutors are but God's scourge, and his rod to chastise us. And as the Father hath alway in time of correction the rod fast in his hand, so that the rod doth nothing but as the Father moveth it; even so hath God all tyrants in his hand, and letteth them not to do whatsoever they would, but as much only as he appointeth them to do, and as far forth as it is necessary for us. And as when the child submitteth himself unto his father's correction and nurture, and humbleth himself altogether unto the will of his father, then the rod is taken away: even so, when we are come unto the knowledge of the right way, and have forsaken our own will, and offer ourselves clean to the will of God, to walk which way soever he will have us: then turneth he the tyrants; or else if they enforce to persecute us any further, he putteth them out of the way, according unto the comfortable ensamples of the Scripture.

The tyrants have not power to do what they would.

Moreover, let us arm our souls with the promises both of help and assistance, and also of the glorious reward that followeth. Great is your reward in heaven, saith Christ, (Matt. v.) And he that knowledgeth me before men, him will I knowledge before my Father that is in heaven; (Matt. x.) and, Call on me in time of

The promises of God are comfortable, yea, they are all comfort.

tribulation, and I will deliver thee; (Psalm lxv.) and, Behold the eyes of the Lord are over them that fear him, and over them that trust in his mercy; to deliver their souls from death, and to feed them in time of hunger. (Psalm xlvi.) And in Psalm xlvii. saith David, The Lord is nigh them that are troubled in their hearts, and the meek in spirit will he save. The tribulations of the righteous are many, and out of them all will the Lord deliver them. The Lord keepeth all the bones of them, so that not one of them shall be bruised. The Lord shall redeem the souls of his servants. And of such like consolations are all the Psalms full: would to God when ye read them ye understood them. And (Matt. x.) When they deliver you, take no thought what ye shall say; it shall be given you the same hour what ye shall say: for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you. The very hairs of your heads are numbered, saith Christ also, Matt. x. If God care for our hairs, he much more careth for our souls, which he hath sealed with his Holy Spirit. Therefore, saith Peter, (1 Pet. iv.) cast all your care upon him; for he careth for you. And Paul (1 Cor. x.) saith, God is true, he will not suffer you to be tempted above your might. And Psalm lxxi. Cast thy care upon the Lord.

A Christian man's care.

Let thy care be to prepare thyself with all thy strength, for to walk which way he will have thee, and to believe that he will go with thee, and assist thee, and strengthen thee against all

tyrants, and deliver thee out of all tribulation. But what way, or by what means he will do it, that commit unto him, and his godly pleasure and wisdom, and cast that care upon him. And though it seem never so unlikely, or never so impossible unto natural reason, yet believe stedfastly that he will do it. And then shall he (according to his old use) change the course of the world, even in the twinkling of an eye, and come suddenly upon our giants, as a thief in the night, and compass them in their wiles and worldly wisdom: when they cry Peace and all is safe; then shall their sorrows begin, as the pangs of a woman that travaileth with child: and then shall he destroy them, and deliver thee, unto the glorious praise of his mercy and truth. Amen.

The despisers, persecutors, and they that fall from the word are threatened.

AND as pertaining unto them that despise God's word, counting it as a phantasy, or a dream; and to them also that for fear of a little persecution fall from it, set this before thine eyes;—how God since the beginning of the world, before a general plague, ever sent his true prophets and preachers of his word to warn the people, and gave them space to repent. But they, for the greatest part of them, hardened their hearts, and persecuted the word that was sent to save them. And then God destroyed them utterly, and took them clean from the earth. As thou seest what followed the preaching of Noah in the old world; what followed the

preaching of Lot among the Sodomites; and the preaching of Moses and Aaron among the Egyptians; and that suddenly against all possibility of man's wit. Moreover, as oft as the children of Israel fell from God to the worshipping of images, he sent his prophets unto them; and they persecuted and waxed hard-hearted: and then he sent them into all places of the world captive. Last of all he sent his own Son to them, and they waxed more hard-hearted than ever before: and see what a fearful example of his wrath and cruel vengeance he hath made of them to all the world, now almost fifteen hundred years.

Noah, Lot, Moses, and Aaron.

The prophets.

Christ.

Unto the old Britons also (which dwelled where our nation doth now,) preached Gildas, and rebuked them of their wickedness, and prophesied both to the spiritual (as they will be called,) and unto the lay men also, what vengeance would follow, except they repented. But they waxed hard-hearted, and God sent his plagues and pestilences among them, and sent their enemies in upon them on every side, and destroyed them utterly.

Gildas.

They be spiritual, that is devilish; for the devil is a spirit.

Mark, also, how Christ threateneth them that forsake him, for whatsoever cause it be; whether for fear, either for shame, either for loss of honour, friends, life, or goods. He that denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father that is in heaven. He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me. All this saith he. Matt. x. And Mark viii. he

We must in no case deny Christ.

saith, Whosoever is ashamed of me, or my words, among this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed when he cometh in the glory of his Father, with his holy angels. And Luke ix. also: None that layeth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of heaven.

God receiveth them that come again.

Nevertheless, yet if any man have resisted ignorantly, as Paul did, let him look on the truth which Paul wrote after he came to knowledge. Also, if any man clean against his heart (but overcome with the weakness of the flesh,) for fear of persecution, have denied, as Peter did, or have delivered his book, or put it away secretly; let him (if he repent,) come again, and take better hold, and not despair, or take it for a sign that God hath forsaken him; for God oftentimes taketh his strength even from his very elect, when they either trust in their own strength, or are negligent to call to him for his strength. And that doth he to teach them, and to make them feel that in that fire of tribulation, for his word's sake, nothing can endure and abide save his word, and that strength only which he hath promised. For the which strength he will have us to pray unto him night and day, with all instance.

Why God letteth his elect fall.

That the Scripture ought to be in the English tongue.

THAT thou mayest perceive how that the Scripture ought to be in the mother tongue, and that the reasons which our spirits make for the contrary, are but sophistry and false wiles to fear thee from the light, that thou mightest follow

them blindfold, and be their captive to honour their ceremonies, and to offer to their belly.

First, God gave the children of Israel a law by the hand of Moses, in their mother tongue; and all the prophets wrote in their mother tongue, and all the Psalms were in the mother tongue. And there was Christ but figured, and described in ceremonies, in riddles, in parables, and in dark prophecies. What is the cause that we may not have the Old Testament, with the New also, which is the light of the Old, and wherein is openly declared before thine eyes that which there was darkly prophesied? I can imagine no cause verily, except it be that we should not see the work of Antichrist and juggling of hypocrites. What should be the cause, that we, which walk in the broad day, should not see as well as they that walked in the night, or that we should not see as well at noon as they did in the twilight? Came Christ to make the world more blind? By this means Christ is the darkness of the world, and not the light, as he saith himself. (John viii.)

Moreover Moses saith, (Deut. vi.) Hear Israel, let these words which I command thee this day, stick fast in thine heart, and whet them on thy children, and talk of them as thou sittest in thine house, and as thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up, and bind them for a token to thine hand, and let them be a remembrance between thine eyes, and write them on the posts and gates of thine house. This was commanded generally unto all

Whet them on thy children, that is, exercise thy children in them, and put them in use.

men. How cometh it that God's word pertaineth less unto us, than unto them? yea, how cometh it, that our Moseses forbid us, and command us the contrary, and threaten us if we do, and will not that we once speak of God's word? How can we whet God's word (that is, to put it in practice, use, and exercise) upon our children and household, when we are violently kept from it and know it not? How can we (as Peter commandeth) give a reason of our hope, when we wot not what it is that God hath promised, or what to hope? Moses also commandeth in the said chapter: If the son ask what the testimonies, laws, and observances of the Lord mean; that the father teach him. If our children ask what our ceremonies (which are more than the Jews were) mean: no father can tell his son. And in the xith chapter, he repeateth all again for fear of forgetting.

No, nor Sir John's ghostly children.

They will say haply, the Scripture requireth a pure mind, and a quiet mind. And therefore the lay man because he is altogether cumbred with worldly business cannot understand them. If that be the cause, then it is a plain case, that our prelates understand not the Scriptures themselves: for no lay man is so tangled with worldly business as they are. The great things of the world are ministered by them; neither do the lay people any great thing, but at their assignment.

If the Scripture were in the mother tongue, they will say, then would the lay people under-

stand it, every man after his own ways. Wherefore serveth the curate, but to teach him the right way? Wherefore were the holy days made, but that the people should come and learn? Are ye not abominable school-masters, in that ye take so great wages if ye will not teach? If ye would teach, how could ye do it so well, and with so great profit, as when the lay people have the Scripture before them in their mother tongue? for then should they see by the order of the text whether thou juggledst or not: and then would they believe it, because it is the Scripture of God, though thy living be never so abominable. Where now, because your living and your preaching are so contrary, and because they grope out in every sermon your open and manifest lies, and smell your unsatiable covetousness, they believe you not when you preach truth. But alas! the curates themselves (for the most part) wot no more what the New or Old Testament meaneth, than do the Turks: neither know they of any more than that they read at mass, matins, and evensong, which yet they understand not: neither care they, but even to mumble up so much every day, as the pie and popinjay speak they wot not what to fill their bellies withal. If they will not let the lay man have the word of God in his mother tongue, yet let the priests have it, which for a great part of them do understand no Latin at all: but sing, and say, and patter all day with the lips only, that which the heart understandeth not.

Holy days.

Our school masters take great wages but teach not.

Why the preachers are not believed when they say truth.

The curates wot not what a Bible meaneth.

The priests understand no Latin.

Search the Scriptures.

Christ commandeth to search the Scriptures. (John. v.) Though that miracles bare record unto his doctrine, yet desired he no faith to be given either to his doctrine, or to his miracles, without record of the Scripture. When Paul preached (Acts, xvii.) the other searched the Scriptures daily, whether they were as he alleged them. Why shall not I likewise see, whether it be the Scripture thou allegest? yea, why shall I not see the Scripture, and the circumstances, and what goeth before and after, that I may know whether thine interpretation be the right sense, or whether thou jugglest, and drawest the Scripture violently unto thy carnal and fleshly purpose? or whether thou be about to teach me or to deceive me?

Christ saith, that there shall come false prophets in his name, and say that they themselves are Christ; that is, they shall so preach Christ that men must believe in them, in their holiness, and things of their imagination without God's word; yea, and that against Christ, or Antichrist, that shall come, is nothing but such false prophets, that shall juggle with the Scripture, and beguile the people with false interpretations, as all the false prophets, scribes and pharisees did in the Old Testament. How shall I know whether ye are against Christ, or false prophets, or no, seeing ye will not let me see how ye allege the Scriptures? Christ saith: By their deeds ye shall know them.—Now when we look on your deeds we see that ye are all sworn together, and

Who against Christ, is known by his deeds.

have separated yourselves from the lay people, and have a several kingdom among yourselves, and several laws of your own making, wherewith ye violently bind the lay people that never consented unto the making of them. A thousand things forbid ye which Christ made free, and dispense with them again for money: neither is there any exception at all, but lack of money. Ye have a secret council by yourselves. All other men's secrets and counsels know ye, and no man your's: ye seek but honour, riches, promotion, authority, and to reign over all, and will obey no man. If the father give you ought of courtesy, ye will compel the son to give it violently, whether he will or not, by craft of your own laws. These deeds are against Christ.

A several kingdom.

Several laws.

What Christ looseth freely, the Pope bindeth to loose it again for money.

A secret counsel.

When a whole parish of us hire a schoolmaster to teach our children, what reason is it, that we should be compelled to pay this schoolmaster his wages, and he should have license to go where he will, and to dwell in another country, and to leave our children untaught? Doth not the Pope so? Have we not given up our tithes of courtesy unto one, for to teach us God's word? and cometh not the Pope, and compelleth us to pay it violently to them that never teach? Maketh he not one parson, which cometh never at us? yea one shall have five or six, or as many as he can get, and wotteth oftentimes where never one of them standeth. Another is made Vicar, to whom he giveth a dispensation to go where he will, and to set in a parish priest, which

Parson.

Vicar.

Parish Priest.

can but minister a sort of dumb ceremonies. And he, because he hath most labour and least profit, polleth on his part, and setteth here a mass penny, there a trental, yonder dirige money, and for his bead roll, with a confession penny and such like. And thus are we never taught, and are yet nevertheless compelled: yea, compelled to hire many costly school-masters. These deeds are verily against Christ. Shall we therefore judge you by your deeds, as Christ commandeth? So are ye false prophets, and the disciples of Antichrist, or against Christ.

The sermons which thou readest in the Acts of the apostles, and all that the apostles preached were no doubt preached in the mother tongue. Why then might they not be written in the mother tongue? As if one of us preach a good sermon, why may it not be written? Saint Jerom also translated the Bible into his mother tongue. Why may not we also? They will say it cannot be translated into our tongue it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false liars. For the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin. And the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English, than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one, so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English, word for word, when thou must seek a compass in the Latin, and yet shall have much work to translate it well favouredly, so that it have the same grace and sweetness,

The properties of the Hebrew tongue agree with the English.

sense and pure understanding with it in the Latin, and as it hath in the Hebrew. A thousand parts better may it be translated into the English, than into the Latin. Yea, and except my memory fail me, and that I have forgotten what I read when I was a child; thou shalt find in the English chronicle, how that King Adelstone caused the holy Scripture to be translated into the tongue that then was in England, and how the prelates exhorted him thereto.

King Adelstone.

Moreover seeing that one of you ever preacheth contrary to another: And when two of you meet, the one disputeth and brawleth with the other, as it were two scolds. And forasmuch as one holdeth this doctor, another that. One followeth Duns, another Saint Thomas, another Bonaventure, Alexander de Hales, Raymond, Lyre, Brigot, Dorbel, Holcot, Gorram, Trumbett, Hugy de Sancto Victore, De Monte Regio, De Nova Villa, De Media Villa, and such like out of number. So that if thou hadst but of every author one book, thou couldst not pile them up in any warehouse in London, and every author is one contrary unto an other. In so great diversity of spirits, how shall I know who lieth, and who sayeth truth? Whereby shall I try and judge them? Verily by God's word which only is true. But how shall I that do, when thou wilt not let me see Scripture?

Contrary preaching.

Contrary doctors.

Nay, say they, the Scripture is so hard, that thou couldst never understand it but by the doctors. That is, I must measure the meteyard by the

cloth. Here be twenty cloths of divers lengths and of divers breadths; how shall I be sure of the length of the meteyard by them? I suppose, rather, I must be first sure of the length of the meteyard, and thereby measure and judge the clothes. If I must first believe the doctor, then is the doctor first true, and the truth of the Scripture dependeth of his truth; and so the truth of God springeth of the truth of man. Thus Antichrist turneth the roots of the trees upward. What is the cause that we damn some of Origen's works, and allow some? How know we that some is heresy and some not? By the Scripture, I trow. How know we that St. Augustine (which is the best, or one of the best, that ever wrote upon the Scripture,) wrote many things amiss at the beginning, as many other doctors do? Verily, by the Scriptures; as he himself well perceived afterward, when he looked more diligently upon them, and revoked many things again. He wrote of many things which he understood not when he was newly converted, yet he had thoroughly seen the Scriptures; and followed the opinions of Plato, and the common persuasions of man's wisdom that were then famous.

Antichrist turneth the roots of the tree upward.

The Scripture is the trial of all doctrine, and the right touch stone.

Philosophy

They will say yet more shamefully, that no man can understand the Scriptures without philautia, that is to say, philosophy. A man must first be well seen in Aristotle, ere he can understand the Scripture, say they. Aristotle's doctrine is, that the world was without beginning,

Aristotle.

and shall be without end; and that the first man never was, and the last shall never be. And that God doth all of necessity, neither careth what we do, neither will ask any accounts of that we do. Without this doctrine, how could we understand the Scripture, that saith, God created the world of nought, and God worketh all things of his free will, and for a secret purpose; and that we shall all rise again, and that God will have accounts of all that we have done in this life. Aristotle saith, Give a man a law and he hath power of himself to do or fulfil the law, and becometh righteous with working righteously. But Paul, and all the Scripture saith, That the law doth but utter sin only, and helpeth not. Neither hath any man power to do the law till the Spirit of God be given him through faith in Christ. Is it not a madness then to say, that we could not understand the Scripture without Aristotle? Aristotle's righteousness, and all his virtues, spring of man's free will. And a Turk, and every infidel and idolater, may be righteous, and virtuous with that righteousness and those virtues. Moreover, Aristotle's felicity and blessedness standeth in avoiding of all tribulations; and in riches, health, honour, worship, friends, and authority; which felicity pleaseth our spiritualty well. Now, without these, and a thousand such like points, couldst thou not understand Scripture, which saith that righteousness cometh by Christ, and not of man's will; and how that virtues are the

Scripture.

Aristotle.

Paul.

Aristotle.

Scripture.

fruits and the gift of God's Spirit, and that Christ blesseth us in tribulations, persecution, and adversity. How, I say, couldst thou understand the Scripture without philosophy, inasmuch as Paul, in the second to the Colossians, warned them to beware, lest any man should spoil them (that is to say, rob them of their faith in Christ,) through philosophy and deceitful vanities, and through the traditions of men, and ordinances after the world, and not after Christ.

Philosophy. Paul.

By this means, then, thou wilt that no man teach another, but that every man take the Scripture and learn by himself. Nay, verily, so say I not. Nevertheless, seeing that ye will not teach, if any man thirst for the truth, and read the Scripture by himself, desiring God to open the door of knowledge unto him, God, for his truth's sake, will and must teach him. Howbeit, my meaning is, that as a master teacheth his apprentice to know all the points of the meteyard; first, how many inches, how many feet, and the half yard, the quarter, and the nail, and then teacheth him to mete other things thereby: even so will I that ye teach the people God's law, and what obedience God requireth of us to father and mother, master, lord, king, and all superiors, and with what friendly love he commandeth one to love another. And teach them to know that natural venom, and birth poison, which moveth the very hearts of us to rebel against the ordinances and will of God, and prove that no man is righteous in the sight of

When no man will teach, if we desire, God will teach.

The order of teaching.

God, but that we are all damned by the law. And then, (when thou hast meeked them and feared them with the law,) teach them the Testament and promises which God hath made unto us in Christ, and how much he loveth us in Christ. And teach them the principles and the ground of the faith, and what the sacraments signify, and then shall the Spirit work with thy preaching, and make them feel. So would it come to pass, that as we know by natural wit what followeth of a true principle of natural reason; even so, by the principles of the faith, and by the plain Scriptures, and by the circumstances of the text, should we judge all men's exposition, and all men's doctrine, and should receive the best, and refuse the worst. I would have you to teach them also the properties and manner of speakings of the Scripture, and how to expound proverbs and similitudes. And then, if they go abroad and walk by the fields and meadows of all manner [of] doctors and philosophers, they could catch no harm. They should discern the poison from the honey, and bring home nothing but that which is wholesome.

The disorder, or overthwart order of our schoolmen.

But now do ye clean contrary, ye drive them from God's word, and will let no man come thereto until he have been two years master of art. First they nosel them in sophistry, and in *benefundatum*. And there corrupt they their judgments with apparent arguments, and with alleging unto them texts of logic, of natural *philautia*, of metaphysic, and moral philosophy, and of

The school doctrine, as they call it, corrupteth the judgments of youth.

all manner [of] books of Aristotle, and of all manner [of] doctors which they yet never saw. More-
Dreams. over, one holdeth this, another that; one is a real, another a nominal. What wonderful dreams have they of their predicaments, universals, second intentions, *qui dities, hæc scities,* and relatives. And whether *specia fundata in chimera,* be *vera species.* And whether this proposition be true, *non ens est aliquid,* whether *ens* be *æquivocum,* or *univocum. Ens* is a voice only say some. *Ens* is *univocum* saith another, and descendeth into *ens creatum,* and into *ens increatum, per modus intrinsecos.* When they have thiswise brawled eight, ten, or twelve or more years, and after that their judgments are utterly corrupt: then they be-
School divinity. gin their divinity; not at the Scripture, but every man taketh a sundry doctor, which doctors are as
Yet in this they all agree, that no man is saved by Christ but by holy works, and that Christ hath given by his Godhead to the pope and all his power; and that the pope may give Christ's merits to whom he will, and take them from whom he will. sundry and as divers, the one contrary unto the other, as there are divers fashions and monstrous shapes, none like another among our sects of religion. Every religion, every university, and almost every man hath a sundry divinity. Now whatsoever opinions every man findeth with his doctor, that is his gospel, and that only is true with him, and that holdeth he all his life long, and every man to maintain his doctor withal, corrupteth the Scripture, and fashioneth it after his own imagination, as a potter doth his clay. Of what text thou provest hell, will another prove purgatory, another *limbo patrum,* and another the assumption of our lady, and another shall prove of the same text that an ape

hath a tail. And of what text the grave friar proveth that our lady was without original sin, of the same shall the black friar prove that she was conceived in original sin; and all this do they with apparent reasons, with false similitudes and likenesses, and with arguments and persuasions of man's wisdom. Now there is no other division or heresy in the world, save man's wisdom, and when man's foolish wisdom interpreteth the Scripture. Man's wisdom scattereth, divideth and maketh sects; while the wisdom of one is that a white coat is best to serve God in, and another saith a black, and another a gray, another a blue; and while one saith God will hear your prayer in this place, another saith in that place; and while one saith this place is holier, and another that place is holier; and this religion is holier than that; and this saint is greater with God than that; and an hundred thousand like things. Man's wisdom is plain idolatry, neither is there any other idolatry than to imagine of God after man's wisdom. God is not man's imagination, but that only which he saith of himself. God is nothing but his law and his promises, that is to say, that which he biddeth thee to do, and that which he biddeth thee believe and hope. God is but his word, as Christ saith, (John viii.) I am that I say unto you; that is to say, That which I preach am I, my words are spirit and life. God is that only which he testifieth of himself; and to imagine any other thing of God than that, is damnable idolatry. Therefore saith the cxviiith Psalm, Happy are

False similitudes.

Man's wisdom heresy.

Coats.

Place. One religion is holier than another.

Man's wisdom is idolatry. What God is.

they which search the testimonies of the Lord, that is to say, that which God testifieth and witnesseth unto us. But how shall I that do, when ye will not let me have his testimonies or witnesses in a tongue which I understand? Will ye resist God? will ye forbid him to give his Spirit unto the lay as well unto you? Hath he not made the English tongue? Why forbid ye him to speak in the english tongue then as well as in the Latin? Finally, that this threatening and forbidding the lay people to read the Scripture is not for love of your souls (which they care for, as the fox doth for the geese) is evident, and clearer than the sun, inasmuch as they permit and suffer you to read Robin Hood, Bevis of Hampton, Hercules, Hector, and Troilus, with a thousand histories and fables of love and wantonness, and of ribaldry, as filthy as heart can think; to corrupt the minds of youth withal, clean contrary to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles: for Paul (Eph. v.) saith, See that fornication and all uncleanness or covetousness be not once named among you, as it becometh saints: neither filthiness, neither foolish talking nor jesting, which are not comely: for this ye know, that no whoremonger either unclean person or covetous person, (which is the worshipper of images,) hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. And after saith he, Through such things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of unbelief. Now seeing they permit you freely to read those things which corrupt your minds and rob you of the kingdom of

Then think the papists their wicked life will shew itself to their shame and confusion.

The pope licenced the people to read and say what they would, save the truth.

But the one forbiddeth not their pomp and belly-cheer as the other doth.

God and Christ, and bring the wrath of God upon you, how is this forbidding for love of your souls?

A thousand reasons more might be made, as thou mayest see in *Paraclesis Erasmi*, and in his preface to the *Paraphrase of Matthew*, unto which they should be compelled to hold their peace, or to give shameful answers. But I hope that these are sufficient unto them that trust the truth. God for his mercy and truth shall well open them more: yea, and other secrets of his godly wisdom, if they be diligent to cry unto him, which grace grant God. Amen.

THE PROLOGUE

UNTO THE BOOK.

FORASMUCH as our holy prelates and our ghostly religious, which ought to defend God's word, speak evil of it, and do all the shame they can to it; and rail on it and bear their captives in hand, that it causeth insurrection and teacheth the people to disobey their heads and governors, and moveth them to rise against their princes; and to make all common and to make havock of other men's goods: therefore have I made this little treatise that followeth, containing all obedience that is of God; in which, (whosoever readeth it) shall easily perceive, not the contrary only, and that they lie, but also the very cause of such blasphemy, and what stirreth them so furiously to rage and to belie the truth.

Prelates not professors, but profaners of God's word.

The obedience of monks and friars is not here. For they are not of God, but of their own feigning.

The hypocrites lay that to God's word which they themselves are cause of.

Howbeit it is no new thing unto the word of God to be railed upon, neither is this the first time that hypocrites have ascribed to God's word the vengeance whereof they themselves were ever [the] cause: for the hypocrites with their false doctrine and idolatry have evermore led the wrath and vengeance of God upon the people, so sore that God could no longer forbear nor defer his punishment. Yet God, which is always merciful, before he would take vengeance, hath ever sent his true prophets and true preachers, to warn the people that they might repent. But the people for the most part, and namely the heads and rulers, through comfort and persuading of the hypocrites, have ever waxed more hard hearted than before, and have persecuted the word of God and his prophets. Then God, which is also righteous, hath always poured his plagues upon them without delay, which plagues the hypocrites ascribe unto God's word, saying, See what mischief is come upon us since this new learning came up, and this new sect, and this new doctrine. This seest thou Jeremiah xliv. where the people cried to go to their old idolatry again, saying, Since we left it, we have been in all necessity and have been consumed with war and hunger. But the prophet answered them that their idolatry went unto the heart of God, so that he could no longer suffer the maliciousness of their own imaginations or inventions; and that the cause of all such mischiefs was, because they would not hear the voice of the Lord and walk in his law, ordinances, and testimonies. The scribes and the pharisees laid also to Christ's charge (Luke xxiii.) that he moved the people to sedition, and said to Pilate, we found this fellow perverting the people and forbidding to pay tribute to Cæsar, and saith that he is Christ, a king. And again in the same chapter, he moveth the people, said they, teaching throughout Jewry, and began at Galilee even to this place. So likewise laid they to the apostles' charge, as thou mayest see in the Acts. St. Cyprian also, and St. Augustin, and many other more, made works in defence of the word of

God warneth ere he strike.

When God punisheth the idolatry of the hypocrites, then say they, that new learning is the cause thereof.

Christ was accused of insurrection.

God against such blasphemies: so that thou mayest see how that it is no new thing, but an old and accustomed thing with the hypocrites, to wite God's word and the true preachers of all the mischief which their lying doctrine is the very cause of.

Why trouble followeth the preaching of the gospel.

Neverthelater in very deed, after the preaching of God's word, because it is not truly received, God sendeth great trouble into the world; partly to avenge himself of the tyrants and persecutors of his word, and partly to destroy those wordly people which make of God's word nothing but a cloak of their fleshly liberty. They are not all good that follow the gospel. Christ (Matt. xiii.) likeneth the kingdom of heaven unto a net cast into the sea that catcheth fishes both good and bad. The kingdom of heaven is the preaching of the gospel, unto which come both good and bad. But the good are few. Christ calleth them therefore a little flock. (Luke xii.) For they are ever few that come to the gospel of a true intent, seeking therein nothing but the glory and praise of God, and offering themselves freely and willingly to take adversity with Christ for the gospel's sake, and for bearing record unto the truth, that all men may hear it. The greatest number come, and ever came, and followed even Christ himself for a worldly purpose: as thou mayest well see, (John vi.) how that almost five thousand followed Christ, and would also have made him a king, because he had well fed them: whom he rebuked, saying, Ye seek me not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye ate of the bread and were filled; and drove them away from him with hard preaching.

Christ's flock a little flock.

As our prelates do not take their vocation to seek God's glory and honour, but to live easily, and promote themselves to dignity.

Liberty.

Even so now (as ever) the most part seek liberty; they be glad when they hear the unsatiable covetousness of the spiritualty rebuked; when they hear their falshood and wiles uttered; when tyranny and oppression is preached against; when they hear how kings and all officers should rule christianly and brotherly, and seek no other thing save the wealth of their subjects; and when they hear that they

have no such authority of God so to pill and poll as they do, and to raise up taxes and gatherings to maintain their phantasies and to make war they wot not for what cause: and therefore because the heads will not so rule, will they also no longer obey, but resist and rise against their evil heads, and one wicked destroyeth another. Yet is not God's word the cause of this, neither yet the preachers, for though that Christ himself taught all obedience, how that it is not lawful to resist wrong, (but for the officer that is appointed thereunto:) and how a man must love his very enemy, and pray for them that persecute him, and bless them that curse him: and how that all vengeance must be remitted to God, and that a man must forgive if he will be forgiven of God: yet the people, for the most part received it not: they were ever ready to rise and to fight. Forever when the scribes and pharisees went about to take Christ, they were afraid of the people: Not on the holy day said they (Matt. xxvi.) lest any rumour arise among the people: and (Matt. xxi.) They would have taken him but they feared the people: and (Luke xx.) Christ asked the pharisees a question unto which they durst not answer, lest the people should have stoned them.

God destroyeth one wicked with another.

God's word is not the cause of evil.

Last of all: forasmuch as the very disciples and apostles of Christ, after so long hearing of Christ's doctrine, were yet ready to fight for Christ clean against Christ's teaching: as Peter (Matt. xxvi.) drew his word, but he was rebuked: and (Luke ix.) James and John would have had fire to come from heaven to consume the Samaritans, and to avenge the injury of Christ, but were likewise rebuked. If Christ's disciples were so long carnal, what wonder is it if we be not all perfect the first day? Yea, inasmuch as we be taught even of very babes, to kill a Turk, to slay a Jew, to burn an heretic, to fight for the liberties and right of the church, as they call it; yea, and inasmuch as we are brought in belief, if we shed the blood of our even christian, or if the son shed the blood of his father that begat him, for the defence, not of the Pope's godhead only, but also

Christ's disciples were long weak and worldly minded.

What the pope's doctrine causeth: he commandeth murder.

for whatsoever cause it be, yea, though it be for no cause, but that his holiness commandeth it only, that we deserve as much as Christ deserved for us when he died on the cross; or if we be slain in the quarrel, that our souls go, nay even fly to heaven, and be there even before our blood be cold. Inasmuch I say as we have sucked in such bloody imaginations into the bottom of our hearts, even with our mother's milk, and have been so long hardened therein, what wonder were it, if, while we be yet young in Christ, we thought that it were lawful to fight for the true word of God? Yea, and though a man were thoroughly persuaded that it were not lawful to resist his king, though he would wrongfully take away life and goods; yet might he think that it were lawful to resist the hypocrites and to rise not against his king, but with his king to deliver his king, out of bondage and captivity, wherein the hypocrites hold him with wiles and falsehood, so that no man may be suffered to come at him, to tell him the truth.

The pope's doctrine is bloody.

This seest thou, that it is the bloody doctrine of the pope, which caused disobedience, rebellion and insurrection, for he teacheth to fight and to defend his traditions, and whatsoever he dreameth, with fire, water, and sword; and to disobey father, mother, master, lord, king, and emperor: yea, and to invade whatsoever land or nation that will not receive and admit his godhead. Where the peaceable doctrine of Christ teacheth to obey and to suffer for the word of God, and to remit the vengeance and the defence of the word to God, which is mighty and able to defend it: which also as soon as the word is once openly preached, and testified or witnessed, unto the world, and when he hath given them a season to repent, is ready at once to take vengeance of his enemies, and shooteth arrows with heads dipt in deadly poison at them; and poureth his plague from heaven down upon them; and sendeth the murrain and pestilence among them; and sinketh the cities of them; and maketh the earth swallow them, and compasseth them in their wiles, and taketh them in their own traps and snares, and casteth

Christ's doctrine is peaceable.

God avengeth his doctrine himself.

them into the pits which they digged for other men; and sendeth them a dazing in the head; and utterly destroyeth them with their own subtle counsel.

How a man ought to behave himself in reading of doctors, and also in the Scripture.

Prepare thy mind therefore unto this little treatise, and read it discreetly, and judge it indifferently, and when I allege any Scripture, look thou on the text whether I interpret it right: which thou shalt easily perceive, by the circumstance and process of them; if thou make Christ the foundation and the ground, and build all on him, and referest all to him; and findest also that the exposition agreeth unto the common articles of the faith, and open Scriptures. And God the Father of mercy, which for his truth's sake raised our Saviour Christ up again to justify us, give thee his Spirit to judge what is righteous in his eyes, and give thee strength to abide by it, and to maintain it with all patience and long-suffering, unto the example and edifying of his congregation, and glory of his name. Amen.

THE OBEDIENCE OF ALL DEGREES

PROVED BY GOD'S WORD: AND FIRST OF CHILDREN UNTO THEIR ELDERS.

GOD (which worketh all in all things,) for a secret judgment and purpose, and for his godly pleasure, provided an hour that thy father and mother should come together, to make thee through them. He was present with thee in thy mother's womb, and fashioned thee and breathed life into thee; and, for the great love he had unto thee, provided milk in thy mother's breasts for thee against thou were born; moved also thy father and mother, and all other, to love thee, to pity thee, and to care for thee.

And as he made thee through them, so hath he cast thee under the power and authority of them, to obey and serve

them in his stead; saying, Honour thy father and mother. (Exod. xx.) Which is not to be understood in bowing the knee, and putting off the cap only, but that thou love them with all thine heart; and fear and dread them, and wait on their commandments; and seek their worship, pleasure, will and profit in all things; and give thy life for them, counting them worthy of all honour; remembering that thou art their good and possession, and that thou owest unto them thine own self, and all thou art able, yea, and more than thou art able to do.

Our fathers and mothers are to be in God's stead.

Understand also, that whatsoever thou doest unto them (be it good or bad,) thou doest unto God. When thou pleasest them thou pleasest God; when thou displeasest them thou displeasest God; when they are angry with thee God is angry with thee: neither is it possible for thee to come to the favour of God again (no, though all the angels of heaven pray for thee,) until thou have submitted thyself unto thy father and mother again.

What we do to our fathers and mothers that we do to God.

If thou obey, (though it be but carnally, either for fear, for vain glory, or profit,) thy blessing shall be long life upon the earth. For he saith, Honour thy father and mother, that thou mayest live long upon the earth. (Exod. xx.) Contrariwise, if thou disobey them, thy life shall be shortened upon the earth. For it followeth, (Exod. xxi.) He that smiteth his father or mother shall be put to death for it. And he that curseth, (that is to say, raileth or dishonoureth his father or mother with opprobrious words,) shall be slain for it. And (Deut. xxi.) If any man have a son stubborn and disobedient, which heareth not the voice of his father and the voice of his mother, so that they have taught him nurture, and he regardeth them not, then let his father and mother take him, and bring him forth unto the seniors or elders of the city, and unto the gate of the same place. And let them say unto the seniors of that city, This our son is stubborn and disobedient: he will not hearken unto our voice: he is a rioter and a drunkard. Then let the men of the city stone him

The reward of obedience.

The reward of disobedience.

with stones unto death: so shall ye put away wickedness from among you, and all Israel shall hear and shall fear.

And though that the temporal officers (to their own damnation,) be negligent in punishing such disobedience, (as the spiritual officers are to teach it,) and wink at it, or look on it through the fingers, yet shall they not escape unpunished. For the vengeance of God shall accompany them (as thou mayest see Deut. xxviii.) with all misfortune and evil luck, and shall not depart from them until they be murdered, drowned, or hanged; either until by one mischance or another they be utterly brought to nought. Yea, and the world often times hangeth many a man for that they never deserved; but God hangeth them because they would not obey and hearken unto their elders, as the consciences of many will find when they come to the gallows. There can they preach and teach other that which they themselves would not learn in season.

God avengeth disobedience himself though the officer will not.

Marriage.

The marriage also of the children pertaineth unto their elders, as thou mayest see 1 Cor. vii. and throughout all the Scripture, by the authority of the said commandment children obey father and mother. Which thing the heathen and Gentiles have ever kept, and to this day keep, to the great shame and rebuke of us Christians: inasmuch as the weddings of our virgins (shame it is to speak it,) are more like to the salt of a bitch than the marrying of a reasonable creature. See not we daily three or four challenging one woman before the commissary or official, of which not one hath the consent of her father and mother? And yet he that hath most money hath best right, and shall have her in the despite of all her friends, and in defiance of God's ordinances.

Covetousness maketh our spiritualty that they cannot see that which a Turk is ashamed of.

Moreover, when she is given by the judge unto the one party, and also married, even then ofttimes shall the contrary party sue for an higher judge, or another that succeedeth the same, and for money divorce her again. So shamefully doth the covetousness and ambition of our

prelates mock with the law of God. I pass over with silence how many years they will prolong the sentence with cavillations and subtlety, if they be well monied on both parties; and if a damsel promise two, how shameful counsel they will give the second, and also how the religious of Satan do separate unseparable matrimony. For after thou art lawfully married at the commandment of father and mother, and with the consent of all thy friends; yet if thou wilt be disguised like unto one of them, and swear obedience to their traditions, thou mayest disobey father and mother, break the oath which thou hast sworn to God before his holy congregation, and withdraw love and charity, the highest of God's commandments, and that duty and service which thou owest unto thy wife; whereof Christ cannot dispense with thee. For Christ is not against God, but with God, and came not to break God's ordinances, but to fulfil them. That is, he came to overcome thee with kindness, and to make thee to do of very love the thing which the law compelleth thee to do. For love only, and to do service unto thy neighbour, is the fulfilling of the law in the sight of God. To be a monk or a friar, thou mayest thus forsake thy wife before thou hast lain with her, but not to be a secular priest. And yet, after thou art professed, the Pope for money will dispense with thee, both for thy coat and all thy obedience, and make a secular priest of thee: likewise, as it is simony to sell a benefice, (as they call it,) but to resign upon a pension, and then to redeem the same, is no simony at all. Oh, crafty jugglers and mockers with the word of God!

Get her with child say they, so shall thy cause be best.

God's commandments break they through their own traditions.

Money maketh merchandise.

Jugglers.

THE OBEDIENCE OF WIVES UNTO THEIR HUSBANDS.

AFTER that Eve was deceived of the serpent, God said unto her, (Gen. iii.) Thy lust or appetite shall pertain unto thy husband, and he shall rule thee, or reign over thee. God, which created the woman, knoweth what is in that weak vessel, (as Peter calleth her,) and hath therefore put her under the obedience of her husband, to rule her lusts and wanton appetites. Peter (1 Pet. ii.) exhorteth wives to be in subjection to their husbands; after the ensample of the holy women which in old time trusted in God, and as Sarah obeyed Abraham and called him Lord. Which Sarah, before she was married, was Abraham's sister, and equal with him; but as soon as she was married was in subjection, and became without comparison inferior. For so is the nature of wedlock by the ordinance of God. It were much better that our wives followed the ensample of the holy women of old time in obeying their husbands, than to worship them with a Paternoster, an Ave and a Credo, or to stick up candles before their images. Paul (Eph. v.) saith, Women, submit yourselves to your own husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is the wife's head, even as Christ is the head of the congregation. Therefore, as the congregation is in subjection to Christ, likewise let wives be in subjection unto their husbands in all things. Let the woman, therefore, fear her husband, as Paul saith in the said place. For her husband is unto her in the stead of God, that she obey him, and wait on his commandments: and his commandments are God's commandments. If she, therefore, grudge against him, or resist him, she grudgeth against God, and resisteth God.

Marriage altereth the degree of nature.

The husband is to the wife in God's stead.

THE OBEDIENCE OF SERVANTS UNTO THEIR MASTERS.

SERVANTS, obey your carnal masters with fear and trembling, in singleness of your hearts as unto Christ; not with service in the eye-sight as men pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart, with good will, even as though ye served the Lord and not men. (Eph. vi.) And (1 Pet. ii.) Servants obey your masters with all fear, not only if they be good and courteous, but also though they be froward. For it cometh of grace, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully. For what praise is it, if when ye be buffetted for your faults, ye take it patiently? But, and if ye do well, ye suffer wrong and take it patiently, then is there thanks with God. Hereunto, verily, were ye called. For Christ also suffered for our sakes, leaving us an ensample to follow his steps. In whatsoever kind, therefore, thou art a servant, during the time of thy covenants, thy master is unto thee in the stead and room of God; and God, through him, feedeth thee, clotheth thee, ruleth thee, and learneth thee. His commandments are God's commandments, and thou oughtest to obey him as God, and in all things to seek his pleasure and profit. For thou art his good and possession, as his ox or his horse; insomuch that whosoever doth but desire thee in his heart from him, without his love and license, is condemned of God, which saith, (Exod. xx.) See thou once covet not thy neighbours' servants.

In suffering wrongs patiently, we follow the steps of Christ.

The master is unto the servant in God's stead.

Paul the apostle sent home Onesimus unto his master (as thou readest in the Epistle of Paul to Philemon.) Insomuch that though the said Philemon with his servant also was converted by Paul, and owed to Paul, and to the word that Paul preached, not his servant only, but also himself: yea, and though that Paul was in necessity, and lacked ministers to minister unto him in the bonds

Our spiritualty retain men's servants not to honour God, but their traditions and ceremonies only.

which he suffered for the gospel's sake; yet would he not retain the servant necessary unto the furtherance of the gospel, without the consent of the master.

Christ's doctrine and the Pope's differ.

O how sore differeth the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, from the doctrine of the Pope and of his apostles! For if any man will obey neither father nor mother, neither lord nor master, neither king nor prince, the same needeth but only to take the mark of the beast, that is, to shave himself a monk, a friar or a priest, and is then immediately free and exempted from all service and obedience due to man. He that will obey no man (as they will not) is most acceptable unto them. The more disobedient that thou art unto God's ordinances, the more apt and meet art thou for their's. Neither is the professing, vowing and swearing obedience unto their ordinances, any other thing than the defying, denying, and foreswearing obedience to the ordinances of God.

If thy master please thee not, shave thyself a monk, a friar, or a priest.

To obey no man is a spiritual thing.

THE OBEDIENCE OF SUBJECTS UNTO KINGS, PRINCES, AND RULERS.

Rom xiii.

LET every soul submit himself unto the authority of the higher powers. There is no power but of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. They that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not to be feared for good works, but for evil. Wilt thou be without fear of the power? Do well then, and so shalt thou be praised of the same: for he is the minister of God for thy

Kings are chosen to suppress the wicked and support the good.

wealth. But, and if thou do evil, then fear; for he beareth not a sword for nought: for he is the minister of God, to take vengeance on them that do evil. Wherefore ye must needs obey; not for fear of vengeance only, but also because of conscience. Even for this cause pay ye tribute: for they are God's ministers serving for the same purpose.

Give to every man therefore his duty: tribute to whom tribute belongeth; custom to whom custom is due; fear to whom fear belongeth; honour to whom honour pertaineth. Owe nothing to any man; but to love one another: for he that loveth another fulfilleth the law. For these commandments, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not desire, and so forth; if there be any other commandment, are all comprehended in this saying, Love thine neighbour as thyself. Love hurteth not his neighbour: therefore is love the fulfilling of the law.

An apt similitude.

As a father over his children is both Lord and judge, forbidding one brother to avenge himself on another, but (if any cause of strife be between them) will have it brought unto himself, or his assigns, to be judged and correct; so God forbiddeth all men to avenge themselves, and taketh the authority and office of avenging unto himself; saying, Vengeance is mine, and I will reward. (Deut. xxxii.) Which text Paul allegeth, (Rom. xii.) For it is imposible that a man should be a righteous, an egal, or an indifferent judge in his own cause—lusts and appetites so blind us. Moreover when thou avengest thyself, thou makest not peace, but stirrest up more debate.

God therefore hath given laws unto all nations, and in all lands hath put kings, governors, and rulers in his own stead, to rule the world through them. And hath commanded all causes to be brought before them, as thou readest (Exod. xxii.) In all causes (saith he) of injury or wrong,

whether it be ox, ass, sheep or vesture, or any lost thing which another challengeth, let the cause of both parties be brought unto the gods, whom the gods condemn, the same shall pay double unto his neighbour. Mark, the judges are called gods in the Scriptures, because they are in God's room, and execute the commandments of God. And in another place of the said chapter, Moses chargeth saying; See that thou rail not on the gods, neither speak evil of the ruler of thy people. Whosoever therefore resisteth them, resisteth God (for they are in the room of God) and they that resist shall receive the damnation.

Judges are called gods

Such obedience unto father and mother, master, husband, emperor, king, lords and rulers, requireth God of all nations, yea of the very Turks and infidels. The blessing and reward of them that keep them, is the life of this world, as thou readest (Lev. xviii.) Keep my ordinances and laws; which if a man keep, he shall live therein. Which text Paul rehearseth Rom x. proving thereby that the righteousness of the law is but worldly, and the reward thereof is the life of this world. And the curse of them that breaketh them, is the loss of this life, as thou seest by their punishment appointed for them.

Blessing.

Curse.

And whosoever keepeth the law (whether it be for fear, for vain glory or profit) though no man reward him, yet shall God bless him abundantly, and send him worldly prosperity, as thou readest Deut xxviii. What good blessings accompany the keeping of the law, and as we see the Turks far exceed us Christian men in worldly prosperity for their just keeping of their temporal laws. Likewise though no man punish the breakers of the law, yet shall God send his curses upon them till they be utterly brought to nought, as thou readest most terribly even in the said place.

God rewardeth all obedience though no man else do.

God avengeth all disobedience though no man else do.

Neither may the inferior person avenge himself upon the superior, or violently resist him for whatsoever wrong it be. If he do, he is condemned in the deed doing: inasmuch as he taketh upon him that which belongeth to

God only, which saith, Vengeance is mine, and I will reward. (Deut xxxii.) And Christ saith (Mat. xxvi.) All they that take the sword shall perish with the sword. Takest thou a sword to avenge thyself? so givest thou not room unto God to avenge thee, but robbest him of his most high honour, in that thou wilt not let him be judge over thee. Vengeance is God's.

If any man might have avenged himself upon his superior, that might David most righteously have done upon king Saul which so wrongfully persecuted David; even for no other cause, than that God had anointed him king, and promised him the kingdom. Yet when God had delivered Saul into the hands of David, that he might have done what he would with him as thou seest in the first book of Kings the xxivth chapter, how Saul came into the camp where David was. And David came to him secretly, and cut off a piece of his garment. And as soon as he had done it his heart smote him, because he had done so much unto his lord. And when his men couraged him to slay him, he answered, The Lord forbid it me that I should lay mine hand on him. Neither suffered he his men to hurt him. When Saul was gone out, David followed and shewed him the piece of his garment, and said, Why believest thou the words of men that say, David goeth about to do thee harm? perceive and see that there is neither evil nor wickedness in my hand, and that I have not trespassed against thee, and yet thou layest await for my life, God judge between thee and me, and avenge me of thee, but mine hand be not upon thee. As the old proverb saith (said David) Out of the wicked shall wickedness proceed, but mine hand be not upon thee, meaning that God ever punisheth one wicked by another. And again (said David,) God be judge, and judge between thee and me, and behold and plead my cause, and give me judgment or right of thee. David. God destroyeth one wicked by another.

And in the xxvith chapter of the same book, when Saul persecuted David again, David came to Saul by night,

God provideth a means to take the evil out of the way when they have fulfilled their wickedness.

as he slept and all his men, and took away his spear and a cup of water from his head. Then said Abishai, David's servant, God hath delivered thee thine enemy into thine hand this day, let me now therefore nail him to the ground with my spear, and give him but even one stripe and no more. David forbad him saying, Kill him not, for who (said he) shall lay hands on the Lord's anointed and be not guilty? The Lord liveth or by the Lord's life (said he) he dieth not, except the Lord smite him, or that his day be come to die, or else go to battle and there perish.

Why David slew not Saul.

Why did not David slay Saul, seeing he was so wicked, not in persecuting David only, but in disobeying God's commandments, and in that he had slain eighty-five of God's priests wrongfully? Verily for it was not lawful: for if he had done it, he must have sinned against God: for God hath made the king in every realm judge over all, and over him is there no judge. He that judgeth the king judgeth God, and he that layeth hands on the king, layeth hand on God, and he that resisteth the king resisteth God, and damneth God's law and ordinance. If the subjects sin they must be brought to the king's judgment. If the king sin he must be reserved to the judgment, wrath, and vengeance of God. And as it is to resist the king, so is it to resist his officer, which is set or sent to execute the king's commandment.

The king is in the room of God in this world.

The king must be reserved unto the vengeance of God.

And in the first chapter of the second book of Kings, David commanded the young man to be slain which brought unto him the crown and bracelet of Saul, and said to please David withal, that he himself had slain Saul. And in the fourth chapter of the same book, David commanded those two to be slain which brought unto him the head of Ishbosheth, Saul's son, by whose means yet the whole kingdom returned unto David, according unto the promise of God.

And Luke xiiith, when they showed Christ of the Galileans, whose blood Pilate mingled with their own sacrifice, he answered, Suppose ye that these Galileans

were sinners above all other Galileans, because they suffered such punishment? I tell you nay, but except ye repent, ye shall likewise perish. This was told Christ, no doubt, of such an intent as they asked him, (Matt. xxii.) Whether it were lawful to give tribute unto Cæsar? For they thought that it was no sin to resist an heathen prince: as few of us would think, if we were under the Turk, that it were sin to rise against him, and to rid ourselves from under his dominions, so sore have our bishops robbed us of the true doctrine of Christ. But Christ condemned their deeds, and also the secret thoughts of all other, that consented thereunto, saying: Except ye repent, ye shall likewise perish. As who should say, I know that ye are within in your hearts, such as they were outward in their deeds, and are under the same damnation: except, therefore, ye repent, betimes, ye shall break out at the last into like deeds, and likewise perish, as it came afterward to pass.

It is not lawful for a Christian subject to resist his prince, though he be an heathen man.

Hereby seest thou that the king is in this world without law, and may at his lust do right or wrong, and shall give accounts, but to God only.

Kings must make account of their doing only to God.

Another conclusion is this, that no person, neither any degree may be exempt from this ordinance of God. Neican the profession of monks and friars, or any thing that the pope or bishops can lay for themselves, except them from the sword of the emperor or kings, if they break the laws. For it is written, let every soul submit himself unto the authority of the higher powers. Here is no man except, but all souls must obey. The higher powers are the temporal kings and princes, unto whom God hath given the sword to punish whosoever sinneth. God hath not given them swords to punish one, and to let another go free, and sin unpunished. Moreover, with what face durst the spiritualty, which ought to be the light and an ensample of good living unto all other, desire to sin unpunished, or to be excepted from tribute, toll, or custom, that they would not bear pain with their brethren to

The king hath no power but to his damnation to privilege the spiritualty to sin unpunished.

the maintenance of kings and officers ordained of God to punish sin? There is no power but of God (by power understand the authority of kings and princes.) The powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth power, resisteth God: yea, though he be pope, bishop, monk, or friar. They that resist shall receive unto themselves damnation. Why? For God's word is against them, which will have all men under the power of the temporal sword: for rulers are not to be feared for good works, but for evil. Hereby seest thou that they that resist the powers, or seek to be exempt from their authority, have evil consciences, and seek liberty to sin unpunished, and to be free from bearing pain with their brethren. Wilt thou be without fear of the power? So do well, and thou shalt have laud of the same (that is to say of the ruler.) With good living ought the spiritualty to rid themselves from fear of the temporal sword, and not with craft and with blinding the kings, and bringing the vengeance of God upon them, and in purchasing license to sin unpunished.

For he is the minister of God for thy wealth: to defend thee from a thousand inconveniences, from thieves, murderers, and them that would defile thy wife, thy daughter, and take from thee all that thou hast: yea, life and all, if thou didst resist. Furthermore, though he be the greatest tyrant in the world, yet is he unto thee a great benefit of God, and a thing wherefore thou oughtest to thank God highly. For it is better to have somewhat than to be clean stript out of altogether: it is better to pay the tenth than to lose all: it is better to suffer one tyrant than many, and to suffer wrong of one than of every man. Yea, and it is better to have a tyrant unto thy king than a shadow, a passive king that doth nought himself, but suffer others to do with him what they will, and to lead him whither they list. For a tyrant though he do wrong unto the good, yet he punisheth the evil, and maketh all men obey, neither suffereth any man

A king is a great benefit, though he be never so evil.

to poll but himself only. A king that is soft as silk and effeminate, that is to say, turned into the nature of a woman, what with his own lusts, which are as the longing of a woman with child, so that he cannot resist them, and what with the wily tyranny of them that ever rule him, shall be much more grievous unto the realm than a right tyrant. Read the Chronicles, and thou shalt find it ever so.

But and if thou do evil, then fear; for he beareth not a sword for nought: for he is the minister of God, to take vengeance on them that do evil. If the office of princes given them of God be to take vengeance of evil doers: then by this text and God's word, are all princes damned, even as many as give liberty or license unto the spiritualty to sin unpunished: and not only to sin unpunished themselves; but also to open sanctuaries, privileged places, churchyards, St. John's hold: yea, and if they come too short unto all these, yet to set forth a neck-verse to save all manner [of] trespassers from the fear of the sword of the vengeance of God put in the hands of princes to take vengeance on all such.

Princes are ordained to punish evil-doers.

The damnation of princes.

Sanctuaries.

Neck-verse.

GOD requireth the law to be kept of all men, let them keep it for whatsoever purpose they will. Will they not keep the law? so vouchsafeth he not that they enjoy this temporal life. Now are there three natures of men; one altogether beastly; which in no-wise receive the law in their hearts, but rise against princes and rulers whensoever they are able to make their party good. These are signified by them that worshipped the golden calf. For Moses brake the tables of the law ere he came at them.

Three natures.

The second are not so beastly, but receive the law, and unto them the law cometh; but they look not Moses in the face. For his countenance is too bright for them; that is, they understand not that the law is spiritual, and requireth the heart. They look on the pleasure, profit, and promotion that followeth the keeping of the law, and

What it is to look Moses in the face.

in respect of the reward keep they the law outwardly with works, but not in the heart. For if they might obtain like honour, glory, promotion and dignity, and also avoid all inconveniences, if they broke the law, so would they also break the law, and follow their lusts.

The third are spiritual, and look Moses in the open face, and are (as Paul saith Romans ii.) a law unto themselves, and have the law written in their hearts by the spirit of God. These need neither of king nor officers to drive them, neither that any man proffer them any reward for to keep the law. For they do it naturally.

The first work for fear of the sword only. The second for reward. The third work for love freely. They look on the exceeding mercy, love and kindness which God hath showed them in Christ, and therefore love again and work freely. Heaven they take of the free-gift of God through Christ's deservings, and hope without all manner [of] doubting that God, according to his promise, will in this world also defend them, and do all things for them of his goodness, and for Christ's sake, and not for any goodness that is in them. They consent unto the law that it is holy and just, and that all men ought to do whatsoever God commandeth for no other cause, but because God commandeth it. And their great sorrow is, because that there is no strength in their members to do that which their heart lusteth to do, and is athirst to do.

Heaven cometh by Christ.

A Christian man seeketh no more but God's will.

These of the last sort keep the law of their own accord, and that in the heart, and have professed perpetual war against the lusts and appetites of the flesh, till they be utterly subdued; yet not through their own strength, but knowing and knowledging their weakness, cry ever for strength to God, which hath promised assistance unto all that call upon him. These follow God, and are led of his Spirit. The other two are led of lusts and appetites.

Lusts.

Lusts and appetites are divers and many, and that in one man: yea, and one lust contrary to another, and the

greatest lust carrieth a man altogether away with him. We are also changed from one lust to another. Otherwise are we disposed when we are children; otherwise when we are young men; and otherwise when we are old; otherwise over even; and otherwise in the morning: yea, sometimes, altered six times in an hour. How fortuneth all this? Because that the will of man followeth the wit, and is subject unto the wit, and as the wit erreth, so does the will, and as the wit is in captivity, so is the will; neither is it possible that the will should be free where the wit is in bondage. Free-will.

That thou mayest perceive and feel the thing in thine heart, and not be a vain sophister, disputing about words without perceiving; mark this. The root of all evil, the greatest damnation and most terrible wrath and vengeance of God that we are in, is natural blindness. We are all out of the right way, every man his ways: one judgeth this best, and another that to be best. Now is worldly wit nothing else but craft and subtlety to obtain that which we judge, falsely, to be best. As I err in my wit, so err I in my will. When I judge that to be evil which indeed is good, then hate I that which is good. And when I suppose that good which is evil indeed, then love I evil. As if I be persuaded and borne in hand that my most friend is mine enemy, then hate I my best friend: and if I be brought in belief that my most enemy is my friend, then love I my most enemy. Now when we say, every man hath his free-will, to do what him lusteth, I say, verily, that men do what they lust. Notwithstanding, to follow lusts is not freedom, but captivity and bondage. If God open any man's wits to make him feel in his heart, that lusts and appetites are damnable, and give him power to hate and resist them, then is he free, even with the freedom wherewith Christ maketh free, and hath power to do the will of God. Worldly wit. The will is bond and led. Freedom.

Thou mayest hereby perceive that all that is done in the world (before the Spirit of God come, and giveth us light)

All is sin that springeth not of the Spirit of God, and all that is not done in the light of God's word.

So do our spiritualty in all their works.

is damnable sin, and the more glorious the more damnable; so that, that which the world counteth most glorious, is more damnable in the sight of God, than that which the whore, the thief, and the murderer do. With blind reasons of worldly wisdom mayest thou change the minds of youth, and make them give themselves to what thou wilt either for fear, for praise, or for profit, and yet doest but change them from one vice to another. As the persuasions of her friends made Lucrece chaste. Lucrece believed if she were a good housewife and chaste, that she should be most glorious, and that all the world would give her honour, and praise her. She sought her own glory in her chastity, and not God's. When she had lost her chastity, then counted she herself most abominable in the sight or all men, and for very pain and thought which she had, not that she had displeased God, but that she had lost her honour, slew herself. Look how great her pain and sorrow was for the loss of her chastity, so great was her glory and rejoicing therein, and so much despised she them that were otherwise, and pitied them not; which pride God more abhorreth than the whoredom of any whore. Of like pride are all the moral virtues of Aristotle, Plato, and Socrates, and all the doctrine of the philosophers the very gods of our school-men.

True miracles are wrought to confirm the preaching, and not the Godhead of the preacher.

In like manner is it for the most part of our most holy religion. For they of like imagination do things which they of Bedlam may see, that they are but madness. They look on the miracles which God did by the saints to move the unbelieving unto the faith, and to confirm the truth of his promises in Christ, whereby all that believe are made saints: as thou seest in the last chapter of Mark. They preached (saith he) every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming their preaching with miracles that followed. And in the fourth of the Acts, the disciples prayed that God would stretch forth his hands to do miracles and wonders in the name of Jesus. And Paul (1 Cor. xiii.) saith, that the miracle of speaking

with divers tongues is but a sign for unbelievers, and not for them that believe. These miracles turn they to another purpose, saying in their blind hearts, see what miracles God hath showed for this saint, he must be verily great with God! And at once turn themselves from God's word, and put their trust and confidence in the saint and his merits, and make an advocate, or rather a God of the saint; and of their blind imagination make a testament or bond between the saint and them; the testament of Christ's blood clean forgotten. They look on the saints' garments and lives, or rather lies, which men lie on the saints: and this wise imagine in their hearts, saying, The saint for wearing such a garment, and for such deeds, is become so glorious in heaven. If I do likewise, so shall I be also. They see not the faith and trust which the saints had in Christ, neither the word of God which the saints preached; neither the intent of the saints, how that the saints did such things, to tame their bodies, and to be an ensample to the world, and to teach that such things are to be despised which the world most wondereth at and magnified. They see not also that some lands are so hot that a man can neither drink wine nor eat flesh therein: neither consider they the complexion of the saints, and a thousand like things see they not. So when they have killed their bodies, and brought them in that case, that scarce with any restorative they can recover their health again, yet had they lever die than to eat flesh. Why? for they think, I have now this twenty, thirty, or forty years eaten no flesh, and have obtained, I doubt not, by this time as high a room as the best of them: should I now lose that? nay, I had lever die: and as Lucretia had lever have been slain, if he had not been too strong for her, than to have lost her glory, even so had these. They ascribe heaven unto their imaginations and mad inventions, and receive it not of the liberality of God, by the merits and deservings of Christ.

Our hypocrites are blind.

The religious look upon the outside only.

He now that is renewed in Christ, keepeth the law

The spiritual man.

without any law written, or compulsion of any ruler or officer, save by the leading of the Spirit only: but the natural man is enticed and moved to keep the law carnally, with carnal reasons and worldly persuasions, as for glory, honour, riches and dignity. But the last remedy of all, when all other fail, is fear. Beat one, and the rest will abstain for fear: as Moses ever putteth in remembrance, saying, Kill, stone, burn. So shall thou put evil from thee, and all Israel shall hear and fear, and shall no more do so. If fear help not, then will God that they be taken out of this life.

The natural man.

Fear is the last remedy.

Kings were ordained then, as I before said, and the sword put in their hands, to take vengeance of evil doers, that other might fear: and were not ordained to fight one against another, or to rise against the emperor to defend the false authority of the pope, that very antichrist. Bishops they only can minister the temporal sword: their office, the preaching of God's word, laid apart, which they will neither do, nor suffer any man to do, but slay with the temporal sword (which they have gotten out of the hand of all princes) them that would. The preaching of God's word is hateful and contrary unto them: why? For it is impossible to preach Christ, except thou preach against antichrist; that is to say, them which, with their false doctrine and violence of sword, enforce to quench the true doctrine of Christ. And as thou canst heal no disease, except thou begin at the root: even so canst thou preach against no mischief, except thou begin at the bishops. Kings they are but shadows, vain names and things idle, having nothing to do in the world, but when our holy father needeth their help.

Kings defend the false authority of the pope, their office-punishing of sin laid apart.

Bishops minister the king's duty, their own laid apart: yea they persecute their own office.

Kings do but wait on the Pope's pleasure.

The Pope contrary unto all conscience and against all the doctrine of Christ, which saith, My kingdom is not of this world, (John xviii.) hath usurped the right of the Emperor. And by policy of the bishops of Almany, and with corrupting the electors or choosers of the Emperor with money, bringeth to pass that such a one is ever chosen

The jugling of the Pope.

Bishops of Almany.

Emperor that is not able to make his party good with the Pope. To stop the Emperor that he come not at Rome, he bringeth the French King up to Milan, and on the other side bringeth he the Venetians. If the Venetians come too nigh, the bishops of France must bring in the French King. And the Socheners are called and sent for to come and succour. And for their labour he giveth to some a rose, to another a cap of maintenance. One is called most Christian King, another Defender of the faith; another the eldest son of the most holy seat. He blaseth also the arms of other, and putteth in the holy cross, the crown of thorn, or the nails, and so forth. If the French king go too high, and creep up either to Bononia or Naples: then must our English bishops bring in our king. The craft of the bishops is to entitle one king with another's realm. He is called king of Denmark and of England; he king of England and of France. Then to blind the lords and the commons, the king must challenge his right. Then must the land be taxed and every man pay, and the treasure borne out of the realm and the land beggared. How many a thousand men's lives hath it cost? And how many an hundred thousand pounds hath it carried out of the realm in our remembrance? Besides how abominable an example of gathering was there; such verily as never tyrant since the world began did, yea such as was never before heard or thought on, neither among Jews, Saracens, Turks, or heathen, since God created the sun to shine; that a beast should break up into the temple of God, that is to say, into the heart and consciences of men, and compel them to swear every man what he was worth, to lend that should never be paid again. How many thousands forswear themselves! How many thousands set themselves above their ability, partly for fear lest they should be forsworn and partly to save their credence! When the pope hath his purpose, then is peace made, no man wotteth how, and our most enemy is our most friend.

Milan.

Bishops of France.

A cap of maintainance.

Most Christian king.

Defender of the Pope's faith.

The eldest son of the holy seat.

Blasing of arms.

The English Bishops.

The falsehood of the bishops.

O a cruel and an abominable example of tyrants: judge them by their deeds saith Christ.

Now because the Emperor is able to obtain his right,

The whore of Babylon.

French, English, Venetians and all must upon him. O great whore of Babylon, how abuseth she the princes of the world, how drunk hath she made them with her wine! How shameful licenses doth she give them, to use necromancy, to hold whores, to divorce themselves, to break the

Confession.

faith and promises that one maketh with another; that the confessors shall deliver unto the king the confession of whom he will, and dispenseth with them even of the very law of God, which Christ himself cannot do.

AGAINST THE POPE'S FALSE POWER.

CHRIST saith unto Peter, put up thy sword into his sheath. For all that lay hand upon the sword shall perish with the sword, (Matthew xxvi.) That is, whosoeverwithout the commandment of the temporal officer, to whom God hath given the sword, layeth hand on the sword to take vengeance,

Not Peter only, but Christ also was under the temporal sword.

the same deserveth death in the deed doing. God did not put Peter only under the temporal sword, but also Christ himself. As it appeareth in the fourth chapter to the Galatians. And Christ saith (Mat. iii.) Thus becometh it us to fulfil all righteousness, that is to say, all ordinances of God. If the head be then under the temporal sword, how can the members be excepted? If Peter sinned in defending Christ against the temporal sword (whose authority and ministers the bishops then abused against Christ as ours do now) who can excuse our

The kings sin in giving exceptions, and the prelates in receiving them.

prelates of sin which will obey no man, neither king nor emperor? Yea, who can excuse from sin, either the kings that give, either the bishops that receive such exemptions contrary to God's ordinances, and Christ's doctrine?

And Mat. xviith, both Christ and also Peter pay tribute, where the meaning of Christ's question unto Peter is, if princes take tribute of strangers only and not of their

children, then verily ought I to be free which am the Son of God, whose servants and ministers they are, and of whom they have their authority. Yet because they neither knew that, neither Christ came to use that authority, but to be our servant, and to bear our burden, and to obey all ordinances, both in right and wrong for our sakes and to teach us; therefore said he to St. Peter, Pay for thee and me lest we offend them. Moreover though that Christ and Peter (because they were poor) might have escaped, yet would he not for fear of offending other and hurting their consciences. For he might well have given occasion unto the tribute gatherers to have judged amiss both of him and his doctrine; yea, and the Jews might happly have been offended thereby, and have thought that it had not been lawful for them to have paid tribute unto heathen princes and idolaters, seeing that he so great a prophet paid not. Yea, and what other thing causeth the lay so little to regard their princes, as that they see them both despised and disobeyed of the spiritualty? But our prelates which care for none offending of consciences and less for God's ordinances, will pay nought: but when princes must fight in our most holy father's quarrel, and against Christ. Then are they the first. There also is none so poor that then hath not somewhat to give.

When the spiritualty payeth tribute.

Mark here, how past all shame our school doctors are, (as Rochester is in his sermon against Martin Luther) which, of this text of Matthew, dispute, that Peter, because he paid tribute, is greater than the other apostles, and hath more authority and power than they, and was head unto them all: contrary unto so many clear texts, where Christ rebuketh them: saying That is an heathenish thing that one should climb above another, or desire to be greater. To be great in the kingdom of heaven is to be a servant, and he that most humbleth himself, and becometh a servant to other (after the ensample of Christ, I mean, and his apostles, and not of the Pope and his apostles, our cardinals and bishops,) the same is greatest in that kingdom. If Peter

Shameless jugglers.

in paying tribute became greatest, how cometh it, that they will pay none at all? But to pay tribute is a sign of subjection verily; and the cause why Christ payed was because he had an household, and for the same cause payed Peter also. For he had an house, a ship and nets, as thou readest in the gospel. But let us go to Paul again.

Wherefore ye must needs obey, not for fear of veangeance only, but also because of conscience. That is, though thou be so naughty (as now many years our Pope and prelates every where are) that thou needest not to obey the temporal sword for fear of vengeance: yet must thou obey because of conscience. First, because of thine own conscience. For though thou be able to resist, yet shalt thou never have a good conscience, as long as God's word, law, and ordinance, are against thee. Secondarily, for thy neighbour's conscience. For though through craft and violence thou mightest escape, and obtain liberty or privilege to be free from all manner [of] duties: yet oughtest thou neither to sue or to seek for any such thing; neither yet admit or accept, if it were proffered, lest thy freedom make thy weak brother to grudge and rebel, in that he seeth thee go empty, and he himself more laden, thy part also laid on his shoulders. Seest thou not if a man favour one son more than another, or one servant more than another, how all the rest grudge, and how love, peace, and unity is broken? What Christianly love is in thee to thy neighbour ward, when thou canst find in thy heart to go up and down empty by him all day long, and see him over charged, yea, to fall under his burden, and yet wilt not once set to thine hand to help him? What good conscience can there be among our spiritualty, to gather so great treasure together, and with hypocrisy of their false learning to rob almost every man of house and lands, and yet not therewith content, but with all craft and wiliness to purchase so great liberties and exemptions from all manner [of] bearing with their brethren, seeking in Christ nothing but lucre? I pass over with silence how they teach princes in every

They make no conscience at any evil doing.

They care for their neighbour as the wolf doth for the sheep.

The evil ensample of the spiritualty causeth the lay to believe that they are not bound to obey.

There is no Christian love in them.

land, to lade new exactions and tyranny on their subjects more and more daily, neither for what purpose they do it say I. God I trust shall shortly disclose their juggling, and bring their falsehood to light; and lay a medicine to them, to make their scabs break out. Nevertheless this I say, that they have robbed all realms, not of God's word only; but also of all wealth and prosperity, and have driven peace out of all lands, and withdrawn themselves from all obedience to princes, and have separated themselves from the lay men, counting them viler than dogs; and have set up the whore of Babylon, antichrist of Rome, whom they call Pope, and have conspired against all common-wealths, and have made them a several kingdom, wherein it is lawful, unpunished, to work all abomination. In every parish have they spies, and in every great man's house, and in every tavern and alehouse. And through confessions know they all secrets, so that no man may open his mouth to rebuke whatsoever they do, but that he shall be shortly made an heretic. In all councils is one of them, yea the most part and chief rulers of the councils are of them: but of their council is no man.

What purpose? even to flatter the princes that they may abuse their authority to slay whosoever believeth in Christ, and to maintain the Pope.

Confession. Prelates know all men's secrets and no man theirs.

Even for this cause pay ye tribute, that is to wit, for conscience' sake to thy neighbour, and for the cause that followeth. For they are God's ministers serving for the same purpose. Because God will so have it, we must obey. We do not look (if we have Christ's Spirit in us) what is good, profitable, glorious and honourable for us, neither on our own will, but on God's will only. Give to every man therefore his duty; tribute to whom tribute belongeth; custom to whom custom is due; fear to whom fear belongeth; honour to whom honour pertaineth.

That thou mightest feel the working of the spirit of God in thee, and lest the beauty of the deed should deceive thee, and make thee think that the law of God, which is spiritual, were content and fulfilled with the outward and bodily deed it followeth. Owe nothing to any man, but to love one another: for he that loveth an-

Love fulfilleth the law before God and not the outward deed.

other fulfilleth the law. For these commandments, Thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not desire, and so forth, if there be any other commandment, are all comprehended or contained in this saying, Love thy neighbour: therefore is love the fulfilling of the law. Here hast thou sufficient against all the sophisters work-holy and justifiers in the world, which so magnify their deeds. The law is spiritual, and requireth the heart, and is never fulfilled with the deed in the sight of God. With the deed thou fulfillest the law before the world, and livest thereby, that is, thou enjoyest this present life, and avoidest the wrath and vengeance, the death and punishment which the law threateneth to them that break it. But before God thou keepest the law if thou love only. Now what shall make us love? Verily that shall faith do. If thou behold how much God loveth thee in Christ, and from what vengeance he hath delivered thee for his sake, and of what kingdom he hath made thee here, then shalt thou see cause enough to love thy very enemy without respect of reward, either in this life or in the life to come; but because that God will so have it, and Christ hath deserved it, yet thou shouldest feel in thine heart that all thy deeds to come are abundantly recompensed already in Christ.

Against workmen.

The deed fulfilleth the law before the world.

Faith maketh a man to love.

Thou wilt say haply, If love fulfil the law, then it justifieth. I say that that wherewith a man fulfilleth the law declareth him justified; but that which giveth him wherewith to fulfil the law justifieth him. By justifying, understand the forgiveness of sins, and the favour of God. Now saith the text, (Rom. x.) the end of the law, or the cause wherefore the law was made, is Christ, to justify all that believe. That is, the law is given to utter sin, to kill the consciences, to damn our deeds, to bring to repentance, and to drive unto Christ: in whom God hath promised his favour and forgiveness of sin unto all that repent and consent to the law that it is good. If thou be-

Justifying.

The office or duty of the law.

lieve the promises, then doth God's truth justify thee; that is, forgiveth thee, and receiveth thee to favour for Christ's sake. In a surety whereof, and to certify thine heart, he sealeth thee with the Spirit. (Eph. i. and iv.) And, (2 Cor. v.) saith Paul; Which gave us his Spirit in earnest. Now the Spirit is given us through Christ. (Read the viiith chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, and Gal. iii. and 2 Cor. iii.) Nevertheless the Spirit, and his fruits, wherewith the heart is purified, as faith, hope, love, patience, long-suffering and obedience, could never be seen without outward experience. For if thou were not brought sometime into cumbrance, whence God only could deliver thee, thou shouldest never see thy faith, yea, except thou foughtest sometime against desperation, hell, death, sin, and powers of this world, for thy faith's sake, thou shouldest never know true faith from a dream. Except thy brother now and then offended thee, thou couldest not know whether thy love were godly. For a Turk is not angry till he be hurt and offended; but if thou love him that doth thee evil, then is thy love of God: likewise if thy rulers were alway kind, thou shouldest not know whether thine obedience were pure or no; but and if thou canst patiently obey evil rulers in all things that is not to the dishonour of God, and when thou hurtest not thy neighbours, then art thou sure that God's spirit worketh in thee, and that thy faith is no dream, nor any false imagination.

The believing of God's promises justifieth.

The Spirit and the inward virtues are known by the outward deed.

Therefore counselleth Paul, (Rom. xii.) Recompense to no man evil. And on your part have peace with all men. Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but give room unto the wrath of God. For it is written, Vengeance is mine, and I will reward, saith the Lord. Therefore, if thy enemy hunger, feed him: if he thirst, give him drink. For in so doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head (that is, thou shalt kindle love in him.) Be not overcome of evil (that is, let not another man's wickedness make thee wicked also.) But overcome evil with

Overcome thine enemy with well-doing

good, that is, with softness, kindness, and all patience win him; even as God with kindness won thee.

The law. THE law was given in thunder, lightning, fire, smoke, and the noise of a trumpet and terrible sight. (Exod. xx.) So that the people quaked for fear, and stood afar off, saying to Moses, Speak thou to us, and we will hear: let not the Lord speak unto us, lest we die. No ear (if it be awaked and understandeth the meaning) is able to abide the voice of the law, except the promises of mercy be by. That thunder, except the reign of mercy be joined with it, destroyeth all, and buildeth not. The law is a witness against us, and testifieth that God abhorreth the sins that are in us, and us for our sins' sake.

The king. In like manner, when God gave the people of Israel a king, it thundered and rained, that the people feared so sore, that they cried to Samuel for to pray for them that they should not die. (1 Kings xii.) As the law is a terrible thing; even so is the king. For he is ordained to take vengeance, and hath a sword in his hand, and not peacocks' feathers. Fear him, therefore, and look on him as thou wouldest look on a sharp sword that hanged over thy head by an hair.

Rulers are God's gift. Heads and governors are ordained of God, and are even the gift of God, whether they be good or bad. And whatsoever is done to us by them, that doth God, be it good or bad. If they be evil, why are they evil? Verily, for our wickedness' sake are they evil. Because that when they were good, we would not receive that goodness of the hand of God, and be thankful: submitting ourselves unto his laws and ordinances, but abused the goodness of God unto our sensual and beastly lusts. Therefore doth God make his scourge of them, and turn them to wild beasts, contrary to the nature of their names and offices; even unto lions, bears, foxes, and unclean swine, to avenge himself of our unnatural and blind unkindness, and of our rebellious disobedience.

Why the rulers are evil.

In the cvith Psalm, thou readest, He destroyed the rivers, and dried up the springs of water, and turned the fruitful land into barrenness, for the wickedness of the inhabiters therein. When the children of Israel had forgotten God in Egypt, God moved the hearts of the Egyptians to hate them, and to subdue them with craft and wiliness. (Psalm civ. and Deut. iii.) Moses rehearseth, saying, God was angry with me for your sakes. So that the wrath of God fell on Moses, for the wickedness of the people. And in the second chap. of the second book of Kings, God was angry with the people, and moved David to number them; when Joab and the other lords wondered why he would have them numbered; and because they feared lest some evil should follow, dissuaded the king; yet it holp not. God so hardened his heart in his purpose, to have an occasion to slay the wicked people.

Evil rulers then are a sign that God is angry and wroth with us. Is it not a great wrath and vengeance that the father and mother should hate their children, even their flesh and their blood? Or that an husband should be unkind unto his wife, or a master unto the servant that waiteth on his profit; or that lords and kings should be tyrants unto their subjects and tenants, which pay them tribute, toll, custom and rent, labouring and toiling to find them in honour, and to maintain them in their estate? Is not this a fearful judgment of God, and a cruel wrath, that the very prelates and shepherds of our souls, which were wont to feed Christ's flock with Christ's doctrine, and to walk before them in living thereafter, and to give their lives for them, to their ensample and edifying; and to strengthen their weak faiths; are now so sore changed, that if they smell that one of their flock (as they now call them, and no longer Christ's) do but once long or desire for the true knowledge of Christ, they will slay him, burning him with fire most cruelly? What is the cause of this; and that they also teach false doctrine, confirming

Evil rulers are a sign that God is angry with us.

Why the prelates are so wicked.

it with lies? Verily, it is the hand of God, to avenge the wickedness of them that have no love nor lust unto the truth of God, when it is preached, but rejoice in unrighteousness. As thou mayest see in the second Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians, where he speaketh of the coming of antichrist; Whose coming shall be (saith he) by the working of Satan, with all miracles, signs and wonders, which are but lies, and in all deceivable unrighteousness among them that perish, because they received not any love to the truth to have been saved. Therefore shall God send them strong delusion, to believe lies. Mark how God, to avenge his truth, sendeth to the unthankful false doctrine and false miracles, to confirm them, and to harden their hearts in the false way, that afterward it shall not be possible for them to admit the truth. As thou seest in Exod. vii. and viii., how God suffered false miracles to be showed in the sight of Pharaoh, to harden his heart, that he should not believe the truth, inasmuch as his sorcerers turned their rods into serpents, and turned water into blood, and made frogs by their enchantment: so thought he that Moses did all his miracles by the same craft, and not by the power of God. And abode therefore in unbelief, and perished in resisting God.

The cause of false miracles is, that we have no lust unto the truth.

Let us receive all things of God, whether it be good or bad: let us humble ourselves under his mighty hand, and submit ourselves unto his nurture and chastising, and not withdraw ourselves from his correction. Read Heb. xii. for thy comfort; and let us not take the staff by the end, or seek to avenge ourselves on his rod, which is the evil rulers. The child, as long as he seeketh to avenge himself upon the rod, hath an evil heart. For he thinketh not that the correction is right, or that he hath deserved it, neither repenteth, but rejoiceth in his wickedness. And so long shall he never be without a rod: yea, so long shall the rod be made sharper and sharper. If he knowledge his fault and take the correction meekly, and even kiss the rod, and amend himself with the learning and

The right way to come of bondage.

nurture of his father and mother, then is the rod taken away and burnt.

So, if we resist evil rulers, seeking to set ourselves at liberty, we shall, no doubt, bring ourselves into more evil bondage, and wrap ourselves in much more misery and wretchedness. For if the heads overcome, then lay they more weight on their backs, and make their yoke sorer and tie them shorter. If they overcome their evil rulers, then make they way for a more cruel nation, or for some tyrant of their own nation, which hath no right unto the crown. If we submit ourselves unto the chastising of God, and meekly knowledge our sins for which we are scourged, and kiss the rod, and amend our living; then will God take the rod away, that is, he will give the rulers a better heart. Or if they continue their malice and persecute you for well-doing, and because ye put your trust in God, then will God deliver you out of their tyranny for his truth's sake. It is the same God now that was in the old time, and delivered the fathers and the prophets, the apostles, and other holy saints. And whatsoever he sware to them he hath sworn to us. And as he delivered them out of all temptation, cumbrance, and adversity, because they consented and submitted themselves unto his will, and trusted in his goodness and truth: even so will he do to us if we do likewise.

Evil rulers ought not to be resisted.

God is always one, always true, always merciful, and excludeth no man from his promises.

Whensoever the children of Israel fell from the way which God commanded them to walk in, he gave them up under one tyrant or another. As soon as they came to the knowledge of themselves, and repented, crying for mercy, and leaning unto the truth of his promises, he sent one to deliver them, as the histories of the Bible make mention.

A Christian man, in respect of God, is but a passive thing, a thing that suffereth only and doth nought; as the sick, in respect of the surgeon or physician, doth but suffer only. The surgeon lanceth and cutteth out the dead flesh, searcheth the wounds, thrusteth in tents, seareth, burneth, seweth or stitcheth, and lieth to caustics to draw out the

A Christian man doth but suffer only.

corruption; and, last of all, lieth to healing plaisters, and maketh it whole. The physician, likewise, giveth purgations and drinks to drive out the disease, and then, with restoratives, bringeth health. Now if the sick resist the razor, the searching iron, and so forth, doth he not resist his own health, and is cause of his own death? So, likewise, is it of us, if we resist evil rulers, which are the rod and scourge wherewith God chastiseth us; the instruments wherewith God searcheth our wounds, and bitter drinks to drive out the sin and to make it appear, and caustics to draw out by the roots the core of the pox of the soul that fretteth inward. A Christian man, therefore, receiveth all things of the hand of God, both good and bad, both sweet and sour, both wealth and woe. If any person do me good, whether it be father, mother, and so forth, that receive I of God, and to God give thanks. For he gave wherewith, and gave a commandment, and moved his heart so to do. Adversity also receive I of the hand of God as an wholesome medicine, though it be somewhat bitter. Temptation and adversity do both kill sin, and also utter it. For though a Christian man knoweth every thing how to live, yet is the flesh so weak, that he can never take up his cross himself to kill and mortify the flesh. He must have another to lay it on his back. In many, also, sin lieth hid within, and festereth and rotteth inward, and is not seen; so that they think how they are good and perfect, and keep the law. As the young man (Matt. xix.) said, he had observed all of a child, and yet lied falsely in his heart, as the text following well declareth. When all is at peace, and no man troubleth us, we think that we are patient and love our neighbours as ourselves; but let our neighbour hurt us in word or deed, and then find we it otherwise. Then fume we, and rage, and set up the bristles, and bend ourselves to take vengeance. If we loved with godly love for Christ's kindness' sake, we should desire no vengeance, but pity him, and desire God to forgive and amend him, knowing well that no flesh can do otherwise than sin;

Evil rulers are wholesome medicines, a Christian man receiveth.

How profitable adversity is.

except that God preserve him. Thou wilt say, What good doth such persecution and tyranny unto the righteous? First, it maketh them feel the working of God's Spirit in them, and that their faith is unfeigned. Secondarily, I say that no man is so great a sinner, if he repent and believe, but that he is righteous in Christ and in the promises: yet if thou look on the flesh, and unto the law, there is no man so perfect that is not found a sinner. Nor any man so pure that hath not somewhat to be yet purged. This shall suffice at this time as concerning obedience.

The greatest sinner is righteous in Christ, and the promises. And the perfectest and holiest is a sinner in the law and the flesh.

BECAUSE that God excludeth no degree from his mercy; but whosoever repenteth, and believeth his promises, (of whatsoever degree he be of,) the same shall be partaker of his grace; therefore, as I have described the obedience of them that are under power and rule, even so will I, with God's help, (as my duty is,) declare how the rulers which God shall vouchsafe to call unto the knowledge of the truth, ought to rule.

THE OFFICE OF A FATHER, AND HOW HE SHOULD RULE.

FATHERS, move not your children unto wrath, but bring them up in the nurture and information of the Lord. (Eph. vi. and Col. iii.) Fathers, rate not your children, lest they be of desperate mind; that is, lest you discourage them. For where the fathers and mothers are wayward, hasty and churlish, ever brawling and chiding, there are the children anon discouraged and heartless, and apt for nothing; neither can they do any thing aright. Bring them up in the nurture and information of the Lord. Teach them to know Christ, and set God's ordinance before them, saying, Son, or daughter, God hath created thee and made thee, through us thy father and

Rigour in parents towards their children is to be eschewed.

The right bringing up of children.

mother, and at his commandment have we so long thus kindly brought thee up, and kept thee from all perils; he hath commanded thee also to obey us, saying, Children, obey thy father and mother. If thou meekly obey, so shalt thou grow both in the favour of God and man, and knowledge of our Lord Christ. If thou wilt not obey us at his commandment, then are we charged to correct thee; yea, and if thou repent not, and amend thyself, God shall slay thee by his officers, or punish thee everlastingly.

The destruction and marring of children.

Nurture them not worldly, and with worldly wisdom, saying, Thou shalt come to honour, dignity, promotion, and riches; thou shalt be better than such and such; thou shalt have three or four benefices, and be a great doctor or a bishop, and have so many men waiting on thee, and do nothing but hawk and hunt, and live at pleasure; thou shalt not need to sweat, to labour, or to take any pain for thy living, and so forth; filling them full of pride, disdain, and ambition, and corrupting their minds with worldly persuasions. Let the fathers and mothers mark how they themselves were disposed at all ages; and by experience of their own infirmities help their children, and keep them from occasions. Let them teach their children to ask marriages of their fathers and mothers. And let their elders provide marriages for them in season; teaching them also to know, that she is not his wife whom the son taketh, nor he her husband which the daughter taketh, without the consent and good will of their elders, or them that have authority over them. If their friends will not marry them, then are they not to blame if they marry themselves. Let not the fathers and mothers always take the utmost of their authority of their children; but at a time suffer with them, and bear their weaknesses, as Christ doth ours. Seek Christ in your children, in your wives, servants, and subjects. Father, mother, son, daughter, master, servant, king, and subject, be names in the worldly regiment. In Christ we are all one thing; none better than another, all brethren; and all must seek Christ, and

The marriage of children without consent of their parents is unlawful.

In Christ we are all servants, and he that hath knowledge is bound.

our brother's profit in Christ. And he that hath the knowledge, whether he be the Lord or king, is bound to submit himself and serve his brethren, and to give himself for them to win them to Christ.

THE OFFICE OF AN HUSBAND AND HOW HE OUGHT TO RULE.

HUSBANDS, love your wives as Christ loved the congregation, and gave himself for it, to sanctify it and cleanse it. Men ought to love their wives, as their own bodies. For this cause shall a man leave father and mother and shall continue with his wife, and shall be made both one flesh. See that every one of you love his wife even as his own body: All this saith Paul Eph. v. And Col. iii. he saith, Husbands, love your wives, and be not bitter unto them. And Peter in the iiird chapter of his first Epistle, saith, Men, dwell with your wives according to knowledge, (that is according to the doctrine of Christ) giving reverence unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel; (that is, help her to bear her infirmities) and as unto them that are heirs also of the grace of life, that your prayers be not let. In many things God hath made the men stronger than the women; not to rage upon them and to be tyrants unto them, but to help them to bear their weakness. Be courteous therefore unto them, and win them unto Christ, and overcome them with kindness, that of love they may obey the ordinance that God hath made between man and wife.

Men ought to rule their wives by God's word.

Why the man is stronger than the woman.

THE OFFICE OF A MASTER AND HOW HE OUGHT TO RULE.

PAUL (Eph. vith) saith: Ye masters do even the same things to them, (that is be master after the ensample and doctrine of Christ, as he before taught the servants to obey to their masters as to Christ) putting away threatenings (that is, give them fair words, and exhort them kindly to do their duty; yea, nurture them as thy own sons with the Lord's nurture, that they may see in Christ a cause why they ought lovingly to obey) and remember (saith he) that your master also is in heaven. Neither is there any respect of persons with him; that is, he is indifferent and not partial: as great in his sight is a servant as a master. And in the iiird chapter to the Colossians, saith he: Ye masters do unto your servants that which is just and equal, remembering that ye also have a master in heaven. Give your servants kind words, food, raiment and learning. Be not bitter unto them, rail not on them, give them no cruel countenance: but according to the ensample and doctrine of Christ, deal with them. And when they labour sore, cherish them again. When ye correct them, let God's word be by, and do it with such good manner that they may see how that ye do it to amend them only, and to bring them to the way which God biddeth us walk in, and not to avenge yourselves, or to wreak your malice on them. If at a time through hastiness ye exceed measure in punishing, recompense it another way, and pardon them another time.

Teach thy servant to know Christ, and after Christ's doctrine deal with him.

Do all thing with God's word.

THE DUTY OF LANDLORDS.

LET Christian landlords be content with their rent and old customs; not raising the rent or fines, and bringing up new customs to oppress their tenants: neither letting two or three tenantries unto one man. Let them not take in their commons, neither make parks nor pastures of whole parishes. For God gave the earth to man to inhabit, and not unto sheep and wild deer. Be as fathers unto your tenants: yea be unto them as Christ was unto us, and shew unto them all love and kindness. Whatsoever business is among them, be not partial, favouring one more than another. The complaints, quarrels, and strife that are among them, count diseases of sick people, and as a merciful physician heal them with wisdom and good counsel. Be pitiful and tender hearted unto them, and let not one of thy tenants tear out another's throat, but judge their causes indifferently, and compel them to make their ditches, hedges, gates and ways. For even for such causes were ye made landlords, and for such causes paid men rent at the beginning. For if such an order were not, one should slay another, and all should go to waste. If thy tenant shall labour and toil all the year to pay thee thy rent, and when he hath bestowed all his labour, his neighbours' cattle shall devour his fruits, how tedious and bitter should his life be! See therefore that ye do your duties again, and suffer no man to do them wrong, save the king only. If he do wrong, then must they abide God's judgment.

Landlords should raise no rents, nor bring up new customs.

God gave the earth to men.

Landlords should withstand the wrong of the tenants.

THE DUTY OF KINGS, AND OF THE JUDGES AND OFFICERS.

LET kings (if they had lever be Christian in deed, than so to be called) give themselves altogether to the wealth of their realms after the ensample of Christ; remembering that the people are God's, and not their's, yea are Christ's inheritance and possession bought with his blood. The most despised person in his realm is the king's brother, and fellow member with him, and equal with him in the kingdom of God and of Christ. Let him therefore not think himself too good to do them service, neither seek any other thing in them, than a father seeketh in his children, yea than Christ sought in us. Though that the king in the temporal regiment be in the room of God, and representeth God himself, and is without all comparison better than his subjects; yet let him put off that and become a brother, doing and leaving undone all things in respect of the commonwealth, that all men may see that he seeketh nothing, but the profit of his subjects. When a cause that requireth execution is brought before him, then only let him take the person of God on him. Then let him know no creature but hear all indifferently; whether it be a stranger or one of his own realm, and the small as well as the great; and judge righteously, for the judgment is the Lord's. (Deut. i.) In time of judgment he is no minister in the kingdom of Christ; he preacheth no gospel but the sharp law of vengeance. Let him take the holy judges of the old Testament for an ensample, and namely Moses, which in executing the law was merciless otherwise; more than a mother unto them, never avenging his own wrongs, but suffering all things; bearing every man's weakness, teaching, warning, exhorting, and ever caring for them, and so tenderly loved them, that he desired God either to forgive them, or to damn him with them.

There is no respect of person afore God.

Moses.

Judges.

Let the judges also privately, when they have put off the person of a judge, exhort with good counsel, and warn the people and help, that they come not at God's judgment: but the causes that are brought to them, when they sit in God's stead, let them judge and condemn the trespasser under lawful witnesses, and not break up into the consciences of men, after the example of antichrist's disciples, and compel them either to forswear themselves by the almighty God, and by the holy gospel of his merciful promises, or to testify against themselves. Which abomination our prelates learned of Caiphas, (Matt. xxvi.) saying to Christ, I adjure or charge thee in the name of the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be Christ, the son of God: let that which is secret to God only, whereof no proof can be made, nor lawful witness brought, abide to the coming of the Lord, which shall open all secrets. If any malice break forth, let them judge only. For further authority hath God not given them.

A tyranny to compel a man to accuse himself.

Our prelates learned of Caiphas.

Secret sins pertain unto God to punish, and open sins unto the king.

Moses (Deut. xvii.) warneth judges to keep them upright, and to look on no man's person; that is, that they prefer not the high before the low, the great before the small, the rich before poor, his acquaintance, friend, kinsman, countryman, or one of his own nation before a stranger, a friend or an alien, yea, or one of their own faith before an infidel: but that they look on the cause only to judge indifferently. For the room that they are in, and the law that they execute, are God's; which, as he hath made all, and is God of all, and all are his sons: even so is he judge over all, and will have all judged by his law indifferently, and to have the right of his law, and will avenge the wrong done unto the Turk or Saracen. For though they be not under the everlasting testament of God in Christ, as few of us which are called Christian be, and even no more than to whom God hath sent his promises, and poured his Spirit into their hearts to believe them, and through faith graven lust in their hearts;

Partiality in judges is wicked.

to fulfil the law of love; yet are they under the testament of the law natural, which is the laws of every land made for the common wealth there, and for peace and unity, that one may live by another. In which laws the infidels (if they keep them) have promises of worldly things. Whosoever, therefore, hindreth a very infidel from the right of that law, sinneth against God, and of him will God be avenged. Moreover, Moses warneth them that they receive no gifts, rewards or bribes. For those two points, favouring of one person more than another, and receiving rewards, pervert all right and equity, and is the only pestilence of all judges.

Partiality and bribe taking is the pestilence of judges.

And the kings warneth he that they have not too many wives, lest their hearts turn away: and that they read alway in the law of God, to learn to fear him, lest their hearts be lift up above their brethren. Which two points, women and pride, the despising of their subjects, which are in very deed their own brethren, are the common pestilence of all princes. Read the stories, and see.

Women, pride, and contempt of subjects, are the pestilence of princes.

The sheriffs, baily errants, constables, and such like officers, may let no man that hurteth his neighbour scape, but that they bring them before the judges, except they in the mean time agree with their neighbours, and make them amends.

Let kings defend their subjects from the wrongs of other nations, but pick no quarrels for every trifle: no, let not our most holy father make them no more so drunk with vain names, with caps of maintenance, and like baubles, as it were puppetry for children, to beggar their realms, and to murder their people, for defending of our holy father's tyranny. If a lawful peace, that standeth with God's word, be made between prince and prince, and the name of God taken to record, and the body of our Saviour broken between them, upon the bond which they have made; that peace or bond can our holy father not dispense with, neither loose it with all the keys he hath: no, verily, Christ cannot break it. For he came not to break the law, but to fulfil it. (Matt. v.)

Vain names.

The holy father looseth peace and unity, truce, truth, and all honesty.

If any man have broken the law, or a good ordinance, and repent and come to the right way again, then hath Christ power to forgive him: but licence to break the law can he not give; much more his disciples and vicars (as they call themselves) cannot do it. The keys whereof they so greatly boast themselves, are no carnal things, but spiritual, and nothing else save knowledge of the law, and of the promises or gospel: if any man for lack of spiritual feeling desire authority of men, let him read the old doctors. If any man desire authority of Scripture, Christ saith, (Luke xi.) Woe be to you lawyers, for ye have taken away the key of knowledge: ye enter not in yourselves, and them that come in, ye forbid. That is, they had blinded the Scripture, whose knowledge (as it were a key) letteth into God, with glosses and traditions. Likewise findest thou, (Matt. xxiii.) as Peter answered in the name of all; so Christ promised him the keys in the person of all. (Matt. xvi.) And in the xxth of John, he paid them, saying, Receive the Holy Ghost; whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted or forgiven, and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained or holden. With preaching the promises, loose they as many as repent and believe. And for that John saith, Receive the Holy Ghost. Luke, in his last chapter, saith, Then opened he their wits, that they might understand the Scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written. And thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise again the third day. And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations. At preaching of the law, repent men; and at the preaching of the promises, do they believe, and are saved. Peter, in the second of the Acts, practised his keys, and by preaching the law, brought the people into the knowledge of themselves, and bound their consciences, so that they were pricked in their hearts, and said unto Peter and to the other apostles, What shall we do? Then brought they forth the key of the sweet promises, saying, Repent,

What the keys are, and why they are so called.

The keys are promised.

The keys are paid.

To bind and loose.

Repentance and forgiveness come by preaching.

Peter practiseth his keys.

and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise was made to you, and to your children, and to all that are afar, even as many as the Lord shall call. Of like ensamples is the Acts full, and Peter's Epistles, and Paul's Epistles, and all the Scripture; neither hath our holy father any other authority of Christ, or by the reason of his predecessor, Peter, than to preach God's word. As Christ compareth the understanding of Scripture to a key, so compareth he it to a net, and to leaven, and to many other things for certain properties. I marvel, therefore, that they boast not themselves of their net and leaven, as well as of their keys, for they are all one thing. But as Christ biddeth us beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, so beware of their counterfeited keys, and of their false net (which are their traditions and ceremonies, their hypocrisy and false doctrine, wherewith they catch, not souls unto Christ, but authority and riches unto themselves.)

The Pope's authority is to preach God's word only.

Beware of the net, and of the leaven, and of the counterfeit keys of our holy father.

Let christian kings therefore keep their faith and truth, and all lawful promises and bonds, not one with another only, but even with the Turk or whatsoever infidel it be. For so it is right before God, as the Scriptures and ensamples of the Bible testify. Whosoever voweth an unlawful vow, promiseth an unlawful promise, sweareth an unlawful oath, sinneth against God, and ought therefore to break it. He needeth not sue to Rome for a licence, for he hath God's word, and not a licence only, but also a commandment to break it. They therefore that are sworn to be true to cardinals and bishops, that is to say, false unto God, the king, and the realm, may break their oaths lawfully without grudge of conscience, by the authority of God's word. In making them they sinned, but in repenting and breaking them they please God highly, and receive forgiveness in Christ.

Not with an heretic saith the Pope.

Unlawful vows or oaths men are commanded to break.

Let kings take their duty of their subjects, and that is necessary to the defence of the realm. Let them rule

their realms themselves, with the help of lay men that are sage, wise, learned, and expert. Is it not a shame above all shames, and a monstrous thing, that no man should be found able to govern a worldly kingdom, save by bishops and prelates, that have forsaken the world, and are taken out of the world, and appointed to preach the kingdom of God? Christ saith that His kingdom is not of this world. (John xviii.) And (Luke xii.) unto the young man that desired him to bid his brother to give him part of the inheritance, he answered, Who made made me a judge or a divider among you? No man that layeth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is apt for the kingdom of heaven. (Luke ix.) No man can serve two masters, but he must despise the one. (Matt. vi.)

Bishops.

Behold the face of the Pope and of the bishops in this glass.

To preach God's word is too much for half a man: and to minister a temporal kingdom is too much for half a man also: either other requireth an whole man; one therefore cannot well do both. He that avengeth himself on every trifle, is not meet to preach the patience of Christ, how that a man ought to forgive and to suffer all things. He that is overwhelmed with all manner [of] riches, and doth but seek more daily, is not meet to preach poverty. He that will obey no man, is not meet to preach how we ought to obey all men. Peter saith (Acts vi.) It is not meet that we should leave the word of God and serve at the tables. Paul saith in the ixth chapter of the first Corinthians, Woe is me if I preach not. A terrible saying, verily, for popes, cardinals, and bishops. If he had said, Woe be unto me if I fight not and move princes unto war, or if I increase not St. Peter's patrimony, (as they call it) it had been a more easy saying for them.

Peter's patrimony.

Christ forbiddeth his disciples and that oft, (as thou mayest Matt. see xviii and also xx. Mark ix. and also x. Luke ix. and also xxii. even at his last supper) not only to clime above lords, kings, and emperors in worldly rule, but also to exalt themselves one above another in the kingdom of God. But in vain, for the pope would not hear it, though he had com-

The Pope's authority is improved.

Bishops have captived God's word with their own decrees.

manded it ten thousand times. God's word should rule only; and not bishops' decrees, or the pope's pleasure: that ought they to preach purely and spiritually, and to fashion their lives after, and with all ensample of godly living and long suffering to draw all to Christ: and not to expound the Scriptures carnally and worldly, saying, God spake this to Peter, and I am his successor, therefore this authority is mine only; and then bring in the tyranny of their fleshly wisdom, *in præsentia majoris, cessat potestas minoris* that is in the presence of the greater the less hath hath no power. There is no brotherhood where such philosophy is taught.

SUCH philosophy, and so to abuse the Scriptures, and to mock with God's word, is after the manner of the bishop of Rochester's divinity; for he in his Sermon of the condemnation of Martin Luther, proveth by a shadow of the Old Testament, that is, by Moses and Aaron, that Satan and antichrist, our most holy father the pope, is Christ's vicar and head of Christ's congregation.

Rochester.

Moses, saith he, signifieth Christ, and Aaron the pope; and yet the Epistle unto the Hebrews proveth, that the high priest of the old law signifieth Christ, and his offering and his going in once in the year into the inner temple, signify the offering wherewith Christ offered himself, and Christ's going in unto the Father to be an everlasting Mediator or Intercessor for us. Nevertheless, Rochester proveth the contrary by a shadow, by a shadow verily: for in shadows they walk without all shame, and the light will they not come at, but enforce to stop and quench it with all craft and falsehood, lest their abominable juggling should be seen. If any man look in the light of the New Testament he shall clearly see, that that shadow may not be so understood.

They walk in shadows.

Understand therefore that one thing in the Scripture representeth divers things: a serpent figureth Christ in one place, and the devil in another, and a lion doth likewise. Christ by leaven signifieth God's word in one place, and in

another signifieth thereby the traditions of the pharisees, which soured and altered God's word for their advantage. Now Moses verily in the said place representeth Christ, and Aaron, which was not yet high priest, represented not Peter only or his successor, as my lord of Rochester would have it, (for Peter was too little to bear Christ's message unto all the world) but signifieth every disciple of Christ, and every true preacher of God's word. For Moses put in Aaron's mouth what he should say, and Aaron was Moses's prophet, and spake not his own message (as the pope and bishops do) but that which Moses had received of God and delivered unto him. (Exod. iv. and also vii.) So ought every preacher to preach God's word purely, and neither to add nor minish. A true messenger must do his message truly, and say neither more nor less than he is commanded. Aaron when he is high priest, and offereth and purgeth the the people of their worldly sin which they had fallen in, in touching uncleanly things, and in eating meats forbidden, (as we sin in handling the chalice and the altar stone, and are purged with the bishop's blessing) representeth Christ, which purgeth us from all sin in the sight of God: as the Epistle unto the Hebrews maketh mention: when Moses was gone up into the mount and Aaron left behind, and made the golden calf; there Aaron representeth all false preachers, and namely, our most holy father the pope, which in like manner maketh us believe in a bull, as the bishop of Rochester full well allegeth the place in his Sermon.

Aaron is every true preacher.

Aaron representeth Christ.

If the pope be signified by *Aaron*, and Christ by *Moses*, why is not the pope as well content with Christ's law and doctrine, as *Aaron* was with *Moses'*? what is the cause that our bishops preach the pope and not Christ, seeing the apostles preached not Peter, but Christ? Paul (2 Cor. iv.) saith of himself and his fellow apostles, We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and preach ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake: and (1 Cor. iii.) Let no man rejoice in men, for all things are yours, whether

Aaron addeth nothing to Moses's law.

The apostle preacheth not Peter but Christ.

it be Paul, or Apollos, or Peter; whether it be the world, or life, or death; whether they be present things, or things to come; all are yours, and ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's. He leaveth out Ye are Peter's, or Ye are the pope's. And in the chapter following, he saith, Let men thuswise esteem us, even the ministers of Christ, &c. And (2 Cor. xi.) Paul was jealous over his Corinthians, because they fell from Christ, to whom he had married them, and did cleave unto the authority of men, (for even then false prophets sought authority in the name of the high apostles,) I am, saith he, jealous over you with godly jealousy, for I coupled you to one man, to make you a chaste virgin to Christ; but I fear lest as the serpent deceived *Eve* through his subtlety, even so your wits should be corrupt from the singleness that is in Christ. And it followeth, If he that cometh to you preached another Jesus, or if ye receive another spirit or another gospel, then might ye well have been content: that is, ye might have well suffered him to have authority above me: but I suppose, saith he, that I was not behind the high apostles; meaning in preaching Jesus and his gospel, and in ministering the Spirit. And in the said xith chapter, he proveth by the doctrine of Christ, that he is greater than the high apostles; for Christ saith to be great in the kingdom of God is to do service and to take pains for other. Upon which rule Paul disputeth, saying, If they be the ministers of Christ, I am more. In labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prison more plenteously, in death oft, and so forth. If Paul preacheth Christ more than Peter, and suffered more for his congregation, then is he greater than Peter by the testimony of Christ. And in the xiith he saith, In nothing was I inferior unto the high apostles: though I be nothing, yet the tokens of an apostle were wrought among you with all patience, with signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds. So proved he his authority, and not with a bull from Peter, sealed with cold lead, either with shadows of the Old Testament falsley expounded.

Paul is greater than high apostles.

Paul is greater than Peter.

Paul proveth his apostleship with preaching and suffering: the bishops prove their apostleship in bulls and shadows.

Moreover the apostles were sent immediately of Christ, and of Christ received they their authority, as Paul boasteth himself every where. Christ, saith he, sent me to preach the gospel. (1 Cor. i.) And I received of the Lord that which I delivered unto you. (1 Cor. xi. and Gal. i.) I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me was not after the manner of men, (that is to wit carnal or fleshly) neither received I it of man, neither was it taught me, but I received it by the revelation of Jesus Christ. And (Gal ii.) He that was mighty in Peter in the apostleship over the circumcision, was mighty in me among the gentiles. And 1st Tim. i. readest thou likewise. And (John xx.) Christ sent them forth indifferently, and gave them like power: As my father sent me, saith he, so send I you; that is, to preach and to suffer as I have done; and not to conquer enemies and kingdoms, and to subdue all temporal power under you with disguised hypocrisy. He gave them the Holy Ghost to bind and loose indifferently, as thou seest; and afterward he sent forth Paul with like authority, as thou seest in the Acts; and in the last of Matthew saith he, All power is given me in heaven and in earth, go, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe whatsoever I commanded you. The authority that Christ gave them was to preach; yet not what they would imagine, but what he had commanded. Lo, saith he, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world. He said not, I go my way, and lo here is Peter in my stead: but sent them every man to a sundry country, whithersoever the Spirit carried them, and went with them himself. And as he wrought with Peter where he went, so wrought he with the other where they went, as Paul boasteth of himself unto the Galatians. Seeing now that we have Christ's doctrine, and Christ's holy promises, and seeing that Christ is ever present with us his own self, how cometh it that Christ may not reign immediately over us as well as the pope which cometh never at us? seeing

The apostles were sent of Christ in like authority.

The authority that Christ gave was to preach Christ's word.

also that the office of an apostle is to preach only, how can the pope challenge with right any authority where he preacheth not? How cometh it also that *Rochester* will not let us be called one congregation, by the reason of one God, one Christ, one Spirit, one gospel, one faith, one hope, and one baptism, as well as because of one pope?

If any natural beast with his wordly wisdom strive that one is greater than another, because that in congregations one is sent of another, as we see in the Acts; I answer that *Peter* sent no man, but was sent himself; and *John* was sent, and *Paul*, *Silas*, and *Barnabas* were sent. Howbeit such manner [of] sendings are not worldly, as princes send ambassadors; no, nor as friars send their limiters to gather their brotherhoods; which must obey whether they will or will not. Here all thing is free and willingly: and the Holy Ghost bringeth them together, which maketh their wills free, and ready to bestow themselves upon their neighbour's profit: and they that come offer themselves, and all that they have or can do to serve the Lord and their brethren: and every man as he is found apt and meet to serve his neighbour, so is he sent or put in office. And of the Holy Ghost are they sent with the consent of their brethren and with their own consent also; and God's word ruleth in that congregation unto which word every man confirmeth his will: and Christ which is always present is the head. But as our bishops hear not Christ's voice so see they him not present, and therefore make them a God on the earth, of the kind I suppose of *Aaron's* calf, for he bringeth forth no other fruit but bulls.

Why bishops make them a God on earth. Aaron made a calf, and the Pope maketh bulls.

Forasmuch also as Christ is as great as Peter, why is not his seat as great as Peter's? Had the head of the empire been at *Jerusalem*, there had been no mention made of Peter. It is verily, as Paul saith in the xith chapter of the iind Epistle to the Corinthians, The false apostles are deceitful workers, and fashion themselves like unto the apostles of Christ; that is the shaven nation preach Christ falsely; yea, under the name of Christ preach them-

The shaven nation hath put Christ out of his room and all kings and the emperor.

selves, and reign in Christ's stead: have also taken away the key of knowledge and wrapped the people in ignorance, and have taught them to believe in themselves, in their traditions and false ceremonies; so that Christ is but a vain name, and after they had put Christ out of his room they got themselves to the emperor and kings, and so long ministered their business till they have also put them out of their rooms, and have got their authorities from them and reign also in their stead; so that the emperor and kings are but vain names and shadows, as Christ is, having nothing to do in the world: thus reign they in the stead of God and man, and have all power under them, and do what they list.

Christ is but a vain name.

Proper ministers.

Let us see another point of our great clerk; a little after the beginning of his Sermon, intending to prove that which is clearer than the sun, and serveth no more for his purpose than *Ite missa est* serveth to prove that our lady was born without original sin; he allegeth a saying that *Martin Luther* saith, which is this, If we affirm that any one Epistle of Paul or any one place of his Epistles pertaineth not unto the universal church, (that is, to all the congregation of them that believe in Christ,) we take away all St. Paul's authority. Whereupon saith *Rochester*, if it be thus of the words of St. Paul, much rather it is true of the gospels of Christ and of every place of them. O malicious blindness! First, note his blindness. He understandeth by this word gospel, no more but the four Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; and thinketh not that the Acts of Apostles, and the Epistles of Peter, of Paul, and of John, and of other like, are also the gospel. Paul calleth his preaching the gospel: (Rom. ii. and 1 Cor. iv. and Gal. i. and 1 Tim. i.) The gospel is every where one, though it be preached of divers, and signifieth glad tidings: that is to wit, an open preaching of Christ and the holy Testament, and gracious promises that God hath made in Christ's blood, to all that repent and believe. Now, is there more gospel in one Epistle of Paul, that is to

Rochester is proved both ignorant and malicious.

The Epistles of Paul are the gospel.

What gospel signifieth.

say, Christ is more clearly preached, and more promises rehearsed in one Epistle of Paul, than in the three first Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

Consider also his maliciousness; how wickedly and how craftily he taketh away the authority of Paul! It is much rather true of the gospels, and of every place in them, than of Paul. If that which the four Evangelists wrote be truer than that which Paul wrote, then is it not one gospel that they preached, neither one Spirit that taught them. If it be one gospel and one Spirit, how is one truer than the other? Paul proveth his authority to the Galatians and to the Corinthians, because that he received his gospel by revelation of Christ, and not of man: and because that when he communed with Peter and the high apostles of his gospel and preaching, they could improve nothing, neither teach him any thing: and because, also, that as many were converted, and as great miracles shewed by his preaching as at the preaching of the high apostles, and therefore will be of no less authority than Peter and other high apostles: nor have his gospel of less reputation than their's.

One gospel, one Spirit, one truth.

The authority of Paul, and his gospel.

Finally: that thou mayest know Rochester for ever, and all the remnant by him, what they are within the skin, mark how he playeth bo-peep with the Scripture. He allegeth the beginning of the tenth chapter to the Hebrews. *Umbram habens lex futurorum bonorum*, the law hath but a shadow of things to come. And immediately expoundeth the figure clean contrary unto the chapter following, and to all the whole Epistle; making Aaron a figure of the Pope, whom the Epistle maketh a figure of Christ.

Rochester playeth bo-peep.

He allegeth half a text of Paul, (1 Tim. iv.) In the latter days some shall depart from the faith, giving heed unto spirits of error and devilish doctrine: but it followeth in the text, Giving attendance, or heed, unto the devilish doctrine of them which speak false, through hypocrisy, and have their consciences marked with a hot iron, for-

bidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with giving thanks. Which two things whoever did, save the pope, Rochester's God? making sin in the creatures which God hath created for man's use, to be received with thanks. The kingdom of heaven is not meat and drink, saith Paul, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. For whosoever in these things serveth Christ, pleaseth God, and is allowed of men. (Rom. xiv.) Had Rochester, therefore, not a conscience marked with the hot iron of malice, so that he cannot consent unto the will of God and glory of Christ, he would not so have alleged the text, which is contrary to none save themselves.

Never man forbad to marry save the Pope.

He allegeth another text of Paul, in the second chapter of his second Epistle to the Thessalonians. *Erit dissessio primum;* that is, saith Rochester, before the coming of Antichrist there shall be a notable departing from the faith. And Paul saith, The Lord cometh not, except there come a departing first. Paul's meaning is, that the last day cometh not so shortly, but that Antichrist shall come first and destroy the faith, and sit in the temple of God, and make all men worship him, and believe in him (as the Pope doth); and then shall God's word come to light again, (as it doth at this time,) and destroy him, and utter his juggling, and then cometh Christ unto judgment. What say ye of this crafty conveyer? Would he spare, suppose ye, to allege and to wrest other doctors pestilently, which feareth not for to juggle with the holy Scripture of God, expounding that unto Antichrist which Paul speaketh of Christ? No, be ye sure. But even after this manner-wise pervert they the whole Scripture and all doctors, wresting them unto their abominable purpose, clean contrary to the meaning of the text, and to the circumstances that go before and after. Which devilish falsehood, lest the laymen should perceive, is the very cause why that they will not suffer the Scripture to be had in the English tongue; neither any work to be made

The cause why they will not have the Scripture in English.

that should bring the people to knowledge of the truth.

He allegeth, for the pope's authority, St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, Ambrose, Jerom, and Origen; of which never one knew of any authority that one bishop should have above another. And St. Gregory, allegeth he, which would receive no such authority above his brethren when it was proffered him. As the manner is to call Tully chief of orators, for his singular eloquence, and Aristotle chief of philosophers, and Virgil chief of poets, for their singular learning; and not for any authority that they had over other: so was it the manner to call Peter chief of the apostles, for his singular activity and boldness; and not that he should be lord over his brethren, contrary to his own doctrine. Yet compare that chief apostle unto Paul, and he is found a great way inferior. This I say not that I would that any man should make a God of Paul, contrary unto his own learning. Notwithstanding, yet this manner of speaking is left unto us of our elders; that when we say the apostle saith so, we understand Paul, for his excellency above other apostles. I would he would tell you how Jerome, Augustine, Bede, Origen, and other doctors, expound this text, Upon this rock I will build my congregation: and how they interpret the keys also. Thereto, *Pasce, pasce, pasce,* which Rochester leaveth without any English, signifieth not poll, sheer, and shave. Upon which text behold the faithful Exposition of Bede.

Tully chief of orators.

Note also how craftily he would enfeoff the apostles of Christ with their wicked traditions and false ceremonies, which they themselves have feigned; alleging Paul, 2 Thess. ii. I answer, that Paul taught by mouth such things as he wrote in his Epistles. And his traditions were the gospel of Christ, and honest manners and living, and such a good order as becometh the doctrine of Christ. As that a woman obey her husband, have her head covered, keep silence, and go womanly and Christianly apparelled; that children and servants be in subjection; and that the

Rochester allegeth Paul for his blind ceremonies, contrary to Paul's doctrine.

young obey their elders, that no man eat but he that laboureth, and worketh; and that men make an earnest thing of God's word, and of his holy Sacraments; and to watch, fast, and pray, and such like as the Scripture commandeth: which things, he that would break, were no Christian man. But, we may well complain, and cry to God for help, that it is not lawful for the pope's tyranny, to teach the people what prayer is, what fasting is, and wherefore it serveth. There were also certain customs alway, which were not commanded in pain of hell, or everlasting damnation: as to watch all night, and to kiss one another: which as soon as the people abused, then they brake them. For which cause, the bishops might break many things now in like manner. Paul also, in many things which God had made free, gave pure and faithful counsel, without tangling of any man's conscience, and without all manner[of] commanding, under pain of cursing, pain of excommunication, pain of heresy, pain of burning, pain of deadly sin, pain of hell, and pain of damnation. As thou mayest see, 1 Cor. vii., where he counselleth the unmarried, the widows, and virgins, that it is good so to abide, if they have the gift of chastity. Not to win heaven thereby, (for neither circumcision, neither uncircumcision, is any thing at all; but the keeping of the commandments is altogether.) But that they might be without trouble, and might also the better wait on God's word, and freelier serve their brethren. And saith, (as a faithful servant) that he had none authority of the Lord, to give them any commandment. But, that the apostles gave us any blind ceremonies, whereof we should not know the reason, that I deny, and also defy, as a thing clean contrary unto the learning of Paul, everywhere.

It is not lawful for us to tell what prayer is, what fasting is, or wherefore it serveth.

Pain of cursing, damnation, and so forth.

If Paul had none authority, then had Peter none: where had then the pope this authority?

For Paul commandeth that no man once speak in the church (that is, in the congregation,) but in a tongue that all men understand, except that there be an interpreter by: he commandeth to labour for knowledge, understanding, and feeling, and to beware of superstition, and

Rochester is improved.

persuasions of worldly wisdom, philosophy, and of hypocrisy and ceremonies, and of all manner [of] disguising, and to walk in the plain and open truth. Ye were once darkness, (saith he,) but now are ye light in the Lord; walk, therefore, as the children of light. (Eph. v.) How doth Paul, also, wish them increase of grace in every Epistle! How crieth he to God to augment their knowledge, that they should be no more children, wavering with every wind of doctrine, but would vouchsafe to make them full men in Christ, and in the understanding of the mysteries or secrets of Christ! So that it should not be possible for any man to deceive them with any enticing reasons of worldly wisdom, or to beguile them with blind ceremonies, or to lead them out of the way with superstitiousness of disguised hypocrisy. Unto which full knowledge are the spiritual officers ordained to bring them. (Eph. iv.) So far is it away that Christ's apostles should give them traditions of blind ceremonies, without signification, or of which no man should know the reason, as Rochester, which loveth shadows, and darkeneth, lieth on them: God stop his blasphemous mouth!

Wherefore the spiritual officers are ordained.

Consider, also, how studiously Rochester allegeth Origen, both for his Pope, and also to stablish his blind ceremonies withal: which Origen, of all heretics, is condemned to be the greatest. He is an ancient doctor, saith he; yea, and to whom, in this point great faith is to be given. Yea, verily, Aristotle and Plato, and even very Robinhood, is to be believed in such a point, that so greatly maintaineth our holy father's authority, and all his disguisings.

Rochester allegeth heretics for his purpose, for lack of Scripture.

Robinhood is of authority enough to prove the Pope withal.

Last of all: as once a crafty thief, when he was espied and followed, cried unto the people, Stop the thief! Stop the thief! And as many to begin withal cast first in another man's teeth that which he feared should be laid to his own charge; even so Rochester layeth to Martin Luther's charge the slaying and murdering of Christian men, because they will not believe in his doctrine; which thing

Rochester and his brethren have not ceased to do now these certain hundred years, with such malice, that when they be dead, they rage, burning their bodies; of which some they themselves of likelihood killed before secretly. And because that all the world knoweth that Martin Luther slayeth no man, but killeth only with the spiritual sword, the word of God, such cankered consciences as Rochester hath; neither persecuteth, but suffereth persecution; yet Rochester, with a goodly argument, proveth that he would do it if he could! And mark, I pray you, what an orator he is, and how vehemently he persuadeth it! Martin Luther hath burned the Pope's decretals; a manifest sign, saith he, that he would have burned the pope's holiness also, if he had had him. A like argument (which I suppose to be rather true,) I make: Rochester and his holy brethren, have burnt Christ's Testament; an evident sign, verily, that they would have burnt Christ himself, also, if they had had him!

Rochester is an orator.

I had almost, verily, left out the chiefest point of all. Rochester, both abominable and shameless, yea, and stark mad with pure malice, and so adased in the brains with spite, that he cannot overcome the truth that he seeth not, or rather careth not what he saith; in the end of his first destruction, I would say *instruction*, as he calleth it; intending to prove that we are justified through holy works, allegeth half a text of Paul of the fifth to the Galatians, (as his manner is to juggle and convey craftily,) *fides per dilectionem operans*. Which text he thiswise Englisheth: Faith, which is wrought by love: and maketh a verb passive of a verb deponent. Rochester will have love to go before, and faith to spring out of love. Thus Antichrist turneth the roots of the tree upward. I must first love a bitter medicine, (after Rochester's doctrine,) and then believe that it is wholesome. When, by natural reason, I first hate a bitter medicine, until I be brought in belief of the physician that it is wholesome, and that the bitterness shall heal me, and then afterward love it of that belief.

Rochester is clean beside himself.

If Rochester be such a juggler, what suppose ye of the rest? Let Rochester be an example, therefore, to judge them all.

Doth the child love the father first, and then believe that he is his son or heir? or rather, because he knoweth that he is his son or heir and beloved, therefore loveth again? John saith, in the third of his first Epistle, See what love the Father hath shewed upon us, that we should be called his sons. Because we are sons, therefore love we. Now, by faith are we sons, as John saith in the first chapter of his gospel. He gave them power to be the sons of God, in that they believed on his name. And Paul saith, in the third chapter of his Epistle to the Galatians, We are all the sons of God, by the faith which is in Jesus Christ. And John, in the said chapter of his Epistle, saith, Hereby perceive we love, that he gave his life for us. We could see no love, nor cause to love again, except that we believed that he died for us, and that we were saved through his death. And in the chapter following saith John, Herein is love: not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to make agreement for our sins. So God sent not his Son for any love that we had to him; but of the love that he had to us sent he his Son, that we might so love, and love again. Paul likewise, in the viiith chapter to the Romans, after that he hath declared the infinite love of God to usward, in that he spared not his own Son, but gave him for us, crieth out, saying, Who shall separate us from the love of God? Shall persecution, shall a sword? &c. No, saith he; I am sure that no creature shall separate us from the love of God that is in Christ Jesus our Lord: as who should say, We see so great love in God to usward in Christ's death, that though all misfortune should fall on us, we cannot but love again. Now how know we that God loveth us? Verily by faith. So therefore, though Rochester be a beast faithless, yet ought natural reason to have taught him, that love springeth out of faith and knowledge; and not faith and knowledge out of love. But let us see the text. Paul saith thus: In Christ Jesus neither circumcision is any thing worth, nor uncircumcision,

Faith is the root, and love springeth of faith.

Though Rochester have not the spirit to judge spiritual things, yet ought reason to have kept him from so shameful lying. But God hath blinded him to bring their falsehood to light.

but faith which worketh through love; or which through love is strong or mighty in working, and not which is wrought by love, as the juggler saith. Faith that loveth God's commandments justifieth a man. If thou believe God's promises in Christ, and love his commandments, then art thou safe. If thou love the commandment, then art thou sure that thy faith is unfeigned, and that God's Spirit is in thee.

How faith justifieth before God in the heart, and how love springeth of faith, and compelleth us to work, and how the works justify before the world, and testify what we are, and certify us that our faith is unfeigned, and that the right Spirit of God is in us, see in my book of the Justifying of Faith, and there shalt thou see all thing abundantly. Also of the controversy between Paul and James see there. Neverthelater, when *Rochester* saith if faith only justified, then both the devils and also sinners that lie still in sin should be saved, his argument is not worth a straw. For neither the devils, nor yet sinners that continue in sin of purpose and delectation, have any such faith as Paul speaketh of. For Paul's faith is to believe God's promises. Faith (saith he Rom. x.) cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh by the word of God. And how shall they hear without a preacher, and how shall they preach except they be sent? As it is written (saith he) how beautiful are the feet that bring glad tidings of peace, and bring tidings of good things. Now when sent God any messengers unto the devils to preach them peace, or any good thing? The devil hath no promise; he is therefore excluded from Paul's faith. The devil believeth that Christ died, but not that he died for his sins. Neither doth any that consenteth in the heart to continue in sin, believe that Christ died for him. For to believe that Christ died for us, is to see our horrible damnation, and how we were appointed unto eternal pains, and to feel, and to be sure that we are delivered therefrom through Christ: in that we have power to hate our sins, and to

The controversy between James and Paul.

Why devils have none of Paul's faith, nor sinners that repent not.

A man may believe that Christ died and many other things, and not believe in Christ.

What it is to believe in Christ.

love God's commandments. All such repent and have their hearts loosed out of captivity and bondage of sin, and are therefore justified through faith in Christ. Wicked sinners have no faith, but imaginations and opinions about Christ; as our schoolmen have in their principles, about which they brawl so fast one with another. It is another thing to believe that the king is rich, and that he is rich unto me, and that my part is therein: and that he will not spare a penny of his riches at my need. When I believe that the king is rich, I am not moved. But when I believe that he is rich for me, and that he will never fail me at my need, then love I, and of love am ready to work unto the uttermost of my power. But let us return at the last unto our purpose again.

Why laymen cannot rule.

WHAT is the cause that lay men cannot now rule, as well as in times past, and as the Turks yet do? Verily because that antichrist with the mist of his juggling hath beguiled our eyes, and hath cast a superstitious fear upon the world of Christian men, and hath taught them to dread not God and his word, but himself and his word; not God's law and ordinances, princes and officers which God hath set to rule the world, but his own law and ordinances, traditions and ceremonies, and disguised disciples, which he hath set every where to deceive the world, and to expel the light of God's word that his darkness may have room. For we see by daily experience of certain hundred years long, that he which feareth neither God nor his word, neither regardeth father, mother, master, or Christ himself; which rebelleth against God's ordinances, riseth against the kings, and resisteth his officers, dare not once lay hands on one of the pope's anointed: no, though he slay his father before his face, or do violence unto his brother, or defile his sister, wife or mother. Like honour give we unto his traditions and ceremonies. What devotion have we when we are blessed (as they call it) with the chalice, or when the bishop lifteth up his holy hand over

Men fear the Pope's oil more than God's commandment.

us? Who dare handle the chalice, touch the altar stone, or put his hand in the font, or his finger into the holy oil? What reverence give we unto holy water, holy fire, holy bread, holy salt, hallowed bells, holy wax, holy boughs, holy candles, and holy ashes! And last of all unto the holy candle commit we our souls at our last departing. Yea, and of the very clout which the bishop or his chaplain that standeth by, knitteth about children's necks at confirmation, what lay person dare be so bold as to unloose the knot? Thou wilt say, do not such things bring the Holy Ghost and put away sin and drive away spirits? I say that a steadfast faith, or belief in Christ and in the promises that God hath sworn to give us for his sake, bringeth the Holy Ghost as all the Scriptures make mention, and as Paul saith (Acts xix.) Have ye received the Holy Ghost through faith, or believing? Faith is the rock whereon Christ buildeth his congregation, against which saith Christ, (Matt. xvi.) hell gates shall not prevail. As soon as thou believest in Christ, the Holy Ghost cometh, sin falleth away, and devils fly. When we cast holy water at the devil, or ring the bells, he fleeth, as men do from young children, and mocketh with us, to bring us from the true faith that is in God's word, unto a superstitious, and a false belief of our own imagination. If thou hadst faith and threwest an unhallowed stone at his head, he would earnestly flee, and without mocking; yea though thou threwest nothing at all, he would not yet abide.

Faith driveth the devils away.

Why do not the bishops make him flee from shooting of guns?

Though that at the beginning miracles were shewed through such ceremonies, to move the infidels to believe the word of God; as thou readest how the apostles anointed the sick with oil, and healed them, and Paul sent his pertelet or gyrkyn to the sick and healed them also; yet was it not the ceremony that did the miracle, but faith of the preacher and the truth of God, which had promised to confirm, and stablish his gospel with such miracles. Therefore as soon as the gift of miracles

Ceremonies did not the miracle, but faith.

ceased, ought the ceremony to have ceased also; or else if they needs will have a ceremony to signify some promise or benefit of God (which I praise not, but would have God's Word preached every Sunday, for which intent Sundays and holy days were ordained) then let them tell the people what it meaneth; and not set up a bald and a naked ceremony without signification, to make the people believe therein, and to quench the faith that ought to be given unto the word of God.

Let them tell what the ceremony meaneth.

The priest disguiseth himself with the passion of Christ.

What helpeth it also that the priest when he goeth to mass disguiseth himself with a great part of the passion of Christ, and playeth out the rest under silence, with signs and proffers, with nodding, becking and mowing, as it were jackanapes, when neither he himself, neither any man else wotteth what he meaneth? not at all verily, but hurteth, and that exceedingly. Forasmuch as it not only destroyeth the faith, and quencheth the love that should be given unto the commandments, and maketh the people unthankful, in that it bringeth them into such superstition, that they think that they have done abundantly enough for God, yea, and deserved above measure if they be present once in a day at such mumming: but also maketh the infidels to mock us and abhor us, in that they see nothing but such apes' play among us, whereof no man can give a reason.

Dumb ceremonies quench faith and love, and make the infidels to mock us.

The prophecy of Christ is fulfilled.

All this cometh to pass to fulfil the prophesy which Christ prophesied. (Mark xiii. and Luke xxi.) That there shall come in his name which shall say that they themselves are Christ. That do verily the Pope and our holy orders of religion. For they under the name of Christ, preach themselves, their own word and their own traditions, and teach the people to believe in them. The pope giveth pardons of his full power, of the treasure of the church, and of the merits of saints. The friars likewise make their benefactors (which only they call their brethren and sisters,) partakers of their masses, fasting, watchings, prayings, and woolward goings. Yea, and when a novice

The Testament of the observances.

of the observants is professed, the father asketh him, Will ye keep the rules of holy St. Francis? and he saith Yea. Will ye so in deed? saith he; the other answereth, Yea, forsooth, father. Then saith the father, And I promise you again everlasting life. O, blasphemy! If eternal life be due unto the pilled traditions of lousy friars, where is the Testament become that God made unto us in Christ's blood? Christ saith, (Matt. xxiv. and Mark xiii.) That there shall come *pseudo-Christi;* which, though I for a consideration have translated false Christs, keeping the Greek word, yet signifieth it in the English, false anointed, and ought so to be translated. There shall come (saith Christ,) false anointed, and false prophets, and shall do miracles and wonders; so greatly, that if it were possible, the very elect, or chosen, should be brought out of the way. Compare the pope's doctrine unto the word of God, and thou shalt find that there hath been, and yet is, a great going out of the way; and that evil men and deceivers (as Paul prophesied 2 Tim. iii.) have prevailed, and waxed worse and worse, beguiling other as they are beguiled themselves. Thou tremblest and quakest, saying, Shall God let us go so sore out of the right way? I answer, It is Christ that warneth us; which, as he knew all that should follow, so prophesied he before, and is a true prophet, and his prophecies must needs be fulfilled.

False anointed.

Christ's prophecy, be it never so terrible, must be yet fulfilled.

GOD anointed his Son Jesus with the Holy Ghost, and therefore called him Christ; which is as much to say as anointed. Outwardly he disguised him not, but made him like other men, and sent him into the world to bless us, and to offer himself for us a sacrifice of a sweet savour, to kill the stench of our sins, that God henceforth should smell them no more, nor think on them any more; and to make full and sufficient satisfaction, or amends, for all them that repent, believing the truth of God, and submitting themselves unto his ordinances, both for the sins

Christ was neither shaven nor shorn, nor anointed with oil.

that they do, have done, and shall do. For sin we through fragility never so oft, yet as soon as we repent and come into the right way again, and unto the Testament which God hath made in Christ's blood, our sins vanish away as smoke in the wind, and as darkness at the coming of light; or as thou castest a little blood or milk into the main sea. Insomuch, that whosoever goeth about to make satisfaction for his sins to Godward, saying in his heart, This much have I sinned, this much will I do again; or this wise will I live to make amends withal; or this will I do to get heaven withal; the same is an infidel, faithless, and damned in his deed-doing, and hath lost his part in Christ's blood: because he is disobedient unto God's Testament, and setteth up another of his own imagination, unto which he will compel God to obey. If we love God, we have a commandment to love our neighbour also, as saith John in his Epistle. And if we have offended him, to make him amends; or if we have not wherewith, to ask him forgiveness, and to do and suffer all things for his sake; to win him to God, and to nourish peace and unity: but to Godward, Christ is an everlasting satisfaction, and ever sufficient.

He that doth aught to make satisfaction or to get heaven, hath lost his part of Christ's blood.

To our neighbour make we amends.

Christ when he had fulfilled his course, anointed his apostles and disciples with the same spirit, and sent them forth, without all manner [of] disguising, like other men also, to preach the atonement and peace which Christ had made betwen God and man. The apostles likewise disguised no man, but chose men anointed with the same spirit: one to preach the word of God, whom we call after the Greek tongue, a bishop or a priest; that is, in English, an overseer and an elder. How he was anointed, thou readest, (1 Tim. iii.) A bishop or an overseer must be faultless, the husband of one wife. (Many Jews, and also Gentiles, that were converted unto the faith, had at that time divers wives, yet were not compelled to put any of them away; which Paul, because of ensample, would not have preachers, forasmuch as in Christ we return

The apostles were neither shaven nor shorn, nor anointed with oil.

Bishop, an overseer.

The true anointing of a priest.

again unto the first ordinance of God, that one man and one woman should go together) he must be sober, of honest behaviour, honestly apparelled, harborous; that is, ready to lodge strangers; apt to teach, no drunkard, no fighter, not given to filthy lucre; but gentle, abhorring fighting, abhorring covetousness, and one that ruleth his own household honestly, having children under obedience, with all honesty. For if a man cannot rule his own house, how can he care for the congregation of God? He may not be young in the faith: or as a man would say, a novice, lest he swell and fall into the judgment of the evil speaker; that is, he may not be unlearned in the secrets of the faith. For such are at once stubborn, and headstrong, and set not a little by themselves. But alas, we have above twenty thousand that know no more Scripture than is written in their portesses, and among them is he exceeding well learned that can turn to his service. He must be well reported of them that are without, lest he fall into rebuke, and into the snare of the evil speaker; that is, lest the infidels which yet believe not, should be hurt by him, and driven from the faith, if a man that were defamed were made head or overseer of the congregation.

This oil is not among our bishops.

He must have a wife for two causes; one, that it may thereby be known who is meet for the room. He is unapt for so chargeable an office, which had never household to rule. Another cause is, that chastity is an exceeding seldom gift, and unchastity exceeding perilous for that degree. Inasmuch as the people look as well unto the living as unto the preaching, and are hurt at once, if the living disagree, and fall from the faith, and believe not the word.

Priests ought to have wives, and why.

This overseer, because he was taken from his own business and labour, to preach God's word unto the parish, hath right by the authority of his office, to challenge an honest living of the parish, as thou mayest see in the Evangelists, and also in Paul. For who will have a servant, and will not give him meat, drink, and raiment,

What the priest's duty is to do: and what to have.

Men are not bound to pay the priest in tithes, by God's law.

and all things necessary? How they would pay him, whether in money, or assign him so much rent, or in tithes, as the guise is now in many countries, was at their liberty.

Deacon, what it signifieth, and what is his office.

Likewise in every congregation chose they another after the same ensample, and even so anointed, as it is to see in the said chapter of Paul, and Acts vi. Whom after the Greek word we call deacon; that is to say in English, a servant or a minister, whose office was to help and assist the priest, and to gather up his duty, and to gather for the poor of the parish, which were destitute of friends, and could not work: common beggars to run from door to door, were not then suffered. On the saints' days, namely, such as had suffered death for the word sake, came men together into the church, and the priest preached unto them, and exhorted them to cleave fast unto the word, and to be strong in the faith, and to fight against the powers of the world, with suffering for their faith's sake, after the ensample of the saints. And taught them not to believe in the saints, and to trust in their merits, and to make gods of them: but took the saints for an ensample only, and prayed God to give them like faith and trust in his word, and like strength and power to suffer therefore, and to give them so sure hope of the life to come, as thou mayest see in the collects of St. Lawrence and of St. Stephen, in our lady matins. And in such days, as we now offer, so gave they every man his portion according to his ability; and as God put in his heart, to the maintenance of the priest, deacon, and other common ministers, and of the poor, and to find learned men to teach, and so forth. And all was put in the hands of the deacon, as thou mayest see in the life of St. Lawrence, and in the histories. And for such purposes gave men lands afterwards, to ease the parishes; and made hospitals, and also places to teach their children, and to bring them up, and to nurture them in God's word; which lands our monks now devour.

No beggars.

How holy days and offerings came up.

Saints were not yet Gods.

Why lands were given unto the spiritual officers before we fell from the faith.

ANTICHRIST.

ANTICHRIST of another manner hath sent forth his disciples, those false anointed of which Christ warneth us before, that they should come and show miracles and wonders, even to bring the very elect out of the way, if it were possible. He anointeth them after the manner of the Jews, and shaveth them and sheareth them after the manner of the heathen priests, which serve the idols. He sendeth them forth not with false oil only, but with false names also. For compare their names unto their deeds, and thou shalt find them false. He sendeth them forth, as Paul prophesied of them, (2 Thess. ii.) with lying signs and wonders. What sign is the anointing? that they be full of the Holy Ghost. Compare them to the signs of the Holy Ghost which Paul reckoneth, and thou shalt find it a false sign. A bishop must he faultless, the husband of one wife. Nay, saith the pope, the hushand of no wife, but the holder of as many whores as he listeth. God commandeth all degrees, if they burn, and cannot live chaste, to marry. The pope saith, If thou burn, take a dispensation for a concubine, and put her away when thou art old, or else, as our lawyers say, *Si non caste, tamen caute;* that is, If ye live not chaste, see ye carry clean, and play the knave secretly. Harbourous, yea to whores and bauds; for a poor man shall as soon break his neck as his fast with them, but of the scraps and with the dogs, when dinner is done. Apt to teach, and as Peter saith, (1 Pet. ii.) Ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that ye have, and that with meekness. Which thing is signified by the boots which doctors of divinity are created in, because they should be ready always to go through thick and thin, to preach God's word, and by the bishop's two-horned mitre, which betokeneth the absolute and perfect knowledge that they ought to

False anointed.

Shaving is borrowed of the heathen, and oiling of the Jews.

False names.

Lying signs.

No wife but an whore.

Take a dispensation.

Knaveate.

Boots.

Mitres.

have in the new Testament and the old. Be not these false signs? For they beat only, and teach not. Yea saith the pope, If they will not be ruled, cite them to appear, and pose them sharply, what they hold of the pope's power, of his pardons, of his bulls, of purgatory, of ceremonies, of confession, and such like creatures of our most holy father's. If they miss in any point, make heretics of them, and burn them. If they be of mine anointed, and bear my mark, disgrace them, I would say disgraduate them, and (after the ensample of noble Antiochus, 2 Mach. vii.) pare the crowns and the fingers of them, and torment them craftily, and for very pain make them deny the truth. But now say our bishops, because the truth is come too far abroad, and the lay people begin to smell our wills, it is best to oppress them with craft secretly, and to tame them in prison. Yea, let us find the means to have them in the king's prison, and to make treason of such doctrine: yea, we must stir up some war one where or another, to bring the people into another imagination. If they be gentlemen, abjure them secretly.

Cite them.

Pose them.

Make them heretics.

Burn them.

Curse them.

Fear them.

Curse them four times in the year. Make them afraid of every thing; and namely, to touch mine anointed; and make them to fear the sentence of the church, suspensions, excommunications and curses. Be they right or wrong, bear them in hand that they are to be feared yet. Preach me and mine authority, and how terrible a thing my curse is, and how black it maketh their souls. On the holidays, which were ordained to preach God's word, set up long ceremonies, long matins, long masses, and long even-songs, and all in Latin, that they understand not: and roll them in darkness, that ye may lead them whither ye will. And lest such things should be too tedious, sing some, say some, pipe some, ring the bells, and lull them and rock them asleep. And yet Paul (2 Cor. xiv.) forbiddeth to speak in the church or congregation, save in the tongue that all understand. For the layman thereby is not edified or taught. How shall the layman say Amen,

All in Latin.

Roll them.

Sing.

Ring.

Lull them.

Rock them a-sleep.

(saith Paul) to thy blessing or thanksgiving, when he wotteth not what thou sayest? He wotteth not whether thou bless or curse.

What then saith the pope, What care I for Paul? I command by the virtue of obedience, to read the gospel in Latin, let them not pray but in Latin, no not their *Pater noster*. If any be sick, go also and say them a gospel, and all in Latin: yea, to the very corn and fruits of the field, in the procession week, preach the gospel in Latin. Make the people believe, that it shall grow the better. It is verily as good to preach it to swine as to men, if thou preach it in a tongue they understand not. How shall I prepare myself to God's commandments? How shall I be thankful to Christ for his kindness? How shall I believe the truth and promises which God hath sworn, while thou tellest them unto me in a tongue which I understand not?

Pray in Latin.

Say them a gospel.

What then saith my lord of Canterbury, to a priest that would have had the New Testament gone forth in English: What (saith he) wouldest thou that the lay-people should wete what we do?

What quoth my Lord of Canterbury.

No fighter, which I suppose is signified by the cross that is borne before the high prelates, and borne before them in procession: Is that also not a false sign? What realm can be in peace for such turmoilers? What so little a parish is it, but they will pick one quarrel or another with them, either for some surplus, chrism or mortuary, either for one trifle or other, and cite them to the arches? Traitors they are to all creatures, and have a secret conspiration between themselves. One craft they have, to make many kingdoms, and small, and to nourish old titles or quarrels, that they may ever move them to war at their pleasure. And if much lands, by any chance, fall to one man, ever to cast a bone in the way, that he shall never be able to obtain it, as we now see in the emperor. Why? For as long as the kings be small, if God would open the eyes of any to set a reformation in

Cross.

Turmoilers.

The craft of the prelates.

Interdict.

his realm, then should the Pope interdict his land, and send in other princes to conquer it.

Not given to filthy lucre, but abhorring covetousness. And as Peter saith, (1 Pet. v.) Taking the oversight of them, not as though ye were compelled thereunto; but willingly. Not for desire of filthy lucre, but of a good mind: not as though ye were lords over the parishes, (over the parishes, quoth he) O Peter, Peter, thou wast too long a fisher, thou wast never brought up at the arches, neither wast master of the Rolls, nor yet Chancellor of England. They are not content to reign over king and emperor, and the whole earth: but challenge authority also in heaven and in hell. It is not enough for them to reign over all that are quick, but have created them a purgatory, to reign also over the dead, and to have one kingdom more than God himself hath. But that ye be an ensample to the flock; (saith Peter) and when the chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive an incorruptible crown of glory. This abhorring of covetousness is signified, as I suppose, by shaving and shearing of the hair, that they have no superfluity. But is not this also a false sign? Yea, verily, it is to them a remembrance to shear and shave, to heap benefice upon benefice, promotion upon promotion, dignity upon dignity, bishoprick upon bishoprick, with pluralities, unions and *tot quots*.

Peter went never to school at the arches.

The Pope hath one kingdom more than God himself.

Shearing what it signifieth.

Tot quot.

First, by the authority of the gospel, they that preach the word of God in every parish, and other necessary ministers, have right to challenge an honest living like unto one of the brethren, and therewith ought to be content. Bishops and priests that preach not, or that preach ought save God's word, are none of Christ's, nor of his anointing: but servants of the beast, whose mark they bear, whose word they preach, whose law they maintain clean against God's law, and with their false sophistry give him greater power than God ever gave to his son Christ.

Bishops that preach not.

BUT they, as unsatiable beasts, not unmindful why they were shaven and shorn, because they will stand at no man's grace, or be in any man's danger, have gotten into their own hands, first the tithe or tenth of all the realm. Then I suppose within a little, or altogether the third foot of all the temporal lands. Tithes.

Mark well how many parsonages or vicarages are there in the realm, which at the least have a plow-land a-piece. Then note the lands of bishops, abbots, priors, nuns, knights of St. John's, cathedral churches, colleges, chauntries and free-chapels. For though the house fall in decay, and the ordinance of the founder be lost, yet will not they loose the lands. What cometh once in, may never more out. They make a free-chapel of it, so that he which enjoyeth it shall do nought therefore. Besides all this, how many chaplains do gentlemen find at their own cost in their houses? How many sing for souls by testaments? Then the proving of testaments, the prizing of goods, the bishop of Canterbury's prerogative. Is that not much through the realm in a year? Four offering days and privy tithes. There is no servant, but that he shall pay somewhat of his wages. None shall receive the body of Christ at Easter, be he never so poor a beggar, or never so young a lad or maid, but they must pay somewhat for it. Then mortuaries for forgotten tithes (as they say). And yet what parson or vicar is there that will forget to have a pigeon-house, to peck up somewhat both at sowing-time and harvest, when corn is ripe? They will forget nothing. No man shall die in their debt; or if any man do, he shall pay it when he is dead. They will lose nothing. Why? It is God's; it is not theirs. It is St. Hubert's rents, St. Alban's lands, St. Edmond's right, St. Peter's patrimony, say they, and none of ours. Item if a man die in another man's parish, besides that he must pay at home a mortuary for forgotten tithes, he must there pay also the best that he there hath. Whether it be an horse of twenty pound, or how good

Temporal lands.

Freechappel.

Testaments.

Offering days.

Privy tithes.

Mortuaries.

Thou must pay ere thou pass.

If he die from home.

soever he be: either a chain of gold of an hundred marks, or five hundred pounds, if it so chance. It is much, verily, for so little pains taken in confession, and in ministering the sacraments. Then bead-rolls. Item christenings, churchings, banns, weddings, offering at weddings, offering at buryings, offering to images, offering of wax and lights, which come to their damage; besides the superstitious waste of wax in torches and tapers throughout the land. Then brotherhoods and pardoners. What get they also by confessions? Yea, and many enjoin penance, to give a certain [sum] for to have so many masses said, and desire to provide a chaplain themselves. Soul-masses, dirges, month-minds, peace-minds, All-souls-day and trentals. The mother church and the high altar must have somewhat in every testament. Offerings at priests' first masses. Item no man is professed, of whatsoever religion it be; but he must bring somewhat. The hallowing, or rather conjuring of churches, chapels, altars, super-altars, chalice, vestments and bells. Then book, bell, candlestick, organs, chalice, vestments, copes, altar-cloths, surplices; towels, basins, ewers, sheep, censer, and all manner [of] ornaments, must be found them freely, they will not give a mite thereunto. Last of all, what swarms of begging friars are there! The parson sheareth, the vicar shaveth, the parish priest polleth, the friar scrapeth, and the pardoner pareth; we lack but a butcher to pull off the skin.

Petty pillage.

Confession.

First Mass.

Professings.

Conjurations.

Parson.

Vicar.

Parish priest.

Friars.

What get they in their spiritual law as (they call it) in a year, at the arches and in every diocese? what get the commissaries, and officials with their somners and apparitors by bawdery in a year? shall ye not find curates enough which to flatter the commissaries and officials withal, that they may go quit themselves, shall open unto them the confessions of the richest of their parishes: whom they cite privily, and lay to their charges secretly. If they desire to know their accusers, Nay, say they, the matter is known well enough, and to more than ye are ware of.

Spiritual law.

A proper commodity of confession.

Come lay your hand on the book, if ye forswear yourself, we shall bring proofs, we will handle you, we will make an ensample of you. Oh how terrible are they! Come, and swear, say they that you will be obedient unto our injunctions. And by that craft wring they their purses, and make them drop as long as there is a penny in them. In three or four years shall they in those offices get enough to pay for a bishop's bull. What other thing are these in a realm save horse-leeches, and even very maggots, cankers, and caterpillars, which devour no more but all that is green; and those wolves which Paul prophesied should come and should not spare the flock. (Acts xxth chapter.) And which Christ said should come in lamb's skins, and bade us beware of them and judge them by their works.

Lay your hand on the book.

THOUGH as I have before sufficiently proved, a christian man must suffer all things, be it never so great unright, as long as it is not against God's commandment, neither is it lawful for him to cast any burden off his back by his own authority, till God pull it off, which laid it on for our deservings, yet ought the kings everywhere to defend their realms from such oppression, if they were christians, which is seldom seen: and is an hard thing, verily, though not impossible. For alas! they be captives or ever they be kings, yea almost ere they be born. No man may be suffered about him but flatterers, and such as are first sworn true unto our most holy fathers the bishops, that is to say, false to God and man.

No man may avenge save the king, and he is bound by his office.

If any of the nobles of the realm be true to the king, and so bold that he dare counsel him that which should be to his honour and for the wealth of the realm; they will wait a season for him as men say, they will provide a ghostly father for him. God bring their wickedness to light. There is no mischief whereof they are not the root, nor bloodshed but through their cause either by their counsel, or in that they preach not true obedience, and teach not the people to fear God. If any faithful servant be in

Kings are in captivity.

all the court, he shall have twenty spies waiting upon him, he shall be cast out of the court, or, as the saying is, conveyed to Calais, and made a captain or an ambassador, he shall be kept far enough from the king's presence.

The duty of kings.

The kings ought, I say, to remember that they are in God's stead, and ordained of God, not for themselves, but for the wealth of their subjects. Let them remember that their subjects are their brethren, their flesh and blood, members of their own body, and even their ownselves in Christ. Therefore ought they to pity them and to rid them from such vile tyranny which increaseth more and more daily. And though that the kings by the falsehood of the bishops and abbots be sworn to defend such liberties: yet ought they not to keep their oaths, but to break them. Forasmuch as they are unright and clean against God's ordinance, and even but cruel oppression, contrary unto brotherly love and charity. Moreover the spiritual officer ought to punish no sin, but and if any sin break out, the king is ordained to punish it, and they not: but to preach and exhort them to fear God, and that they sin not.

Unlawful oaths ought to be broken, and may without dispensation.

The king only ought to punish sin: I mean that is broken forth. The heart must remain to God.

And let the kings put down some of their tyranny, and turn some unto a commonwealth. If the tenth part of such tyranny were given the king yearly, and laid up in the shire towns against the realm had need, what would it grow to in certain years? Moreover one king one law, is God's ordinance in every realm. Therefore ought not the king to suffer them to have a several law by themselves, and to draw his subjects thither. It is not mete, will they say that a spiritual man should be judged by a worldly or temporal man. O abomination, see how they divide and separate themselves: if the lay men be of the world, so is he not of God! If he believe in Christ, then is he a member of Christ, Christ's brother, Christ's flesh, Christ's blood, Christ's spouse, coheir with Christ, and hath his Spirit in earnest, and is also spiritual. If they would rob us of the Spirit of God, why should they fear to rob us of

The Spirit pertaineth unto the shaven only.

worldly goods? because thou art put in office to preach God's word, art thou therefore no more one of the brethren? is the mayor of London no more one of the city because he is the chief officer? is the king no more of the realm because he is head thereof? The king is in the room of God, and his law is God's law, and nothing but the law of nature and natural equity, which God graved in the hearts of men. Yet antichrist is too good to be judged by the law of God, he must have a new of his own making. It were meet verily that they went to no law at all. No more needed they, if they would study to preach God's word truly, and be contented with sufficient, and to be like one of their brethren.

The king's law is God's law.

If any question arose about the faith of the Scripture, that let them judge by the manifest and open Scriptures, not excluding the lay men. For there are many found among the lay men, which are as wise as the officers. Or else when the officer dieth, how could we put another in his room? wilt thou so teach twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty years, that no man shall have knowledge or judgment in God's word save thou only? is it not a shame that we Christians come so oft to church in vain, when he of fourscore years old knoweth no more than he that was born yesterday?

How men ought to judge questions of the Scripture.

We come oft to school but are never taught.

Moreover, when the spiritual officers have excommunicated any man, or have condemned any opinion for heresy: let not the king nor temporal officers punish and slay by and by at their commandment. But let them look on God's word and compare their judgment unto the Scripture, and see whether it be right or no, and not believe them at the first chop, whatsoever they say, namely, in things that pertain unto their own authorities and power. For no man is a right judge in his own cause. Why doth Christ command the Scripture to be preached unto all creatures, but that it pertaineth unto all men to know them? Christ referreth himself unto the Scriptures; (John v.) and in the xith chapter of Matthew, unto the question

Kings ought to see what they do, and not to believe the bishops, namely, seeing their living is so sore suspect.

It pertaineth unto all men to know the Scriptures.

of John Baptist's disciples, he answered, The blind see, the lepers are cleansed, the dead arise again, &c. meaning that if I do the works which are prophesied that Christ should do when he cometh, why doubt ye whether I be he or no? as who should say, Ask the Scripture whether I be Christ or no, and not myself. How happeneth it then that our prelates will not come to the light also, that we may see whether their works be wrought in God or no? why fear they to let the lay men see what they do? why make they all their examinations in darkness? why examine they not their causes of heresy openly, as the lay men do their felons, and murderers? wherefore did Christ and his apostles also warn us so diligently of Antichrist and of false prophets that should come? because that we should slumber or sleep careless, or rather that we should look in the light of the Scripture with all diligence to spy them when they came, and not to suffer ourselves to be deceived and led out of the way? John biddeth judge the spirits. Whereby shall we judge them but by the Scriptures? how shalt thou know whether the prophet be true or false, or whether he speak God's word of his own head, if thou wilt not see the Scriptures? why said David in the second Psalm, Be learned ye that judge the earth, lest the Lord be angry with you, and ye perish from the right way?

Be learned ye that judge the earth.

A terrible warning verily: yea, and look on the stories well, and thou shalt find very few kings since the beginning of the world that have not perished from the right way, and that because they would not be learned.

The kings are become Antichrist's hangmen.

The emperor and kings are nothing now a days but even hangmen unto the pope and bishops, to kill whosoever they condemn without any more ado, as Pilate was unto the Scribes and Pharisees and the high bishops to hang Christ. For as those prelates answered Pilate, (when he asked what he had done) if he were not an evil doer, we would not have brought him unto thee. As who should say, we are too holy to do any thing amiss, thou mayest believe us well enough: yea, and his blood on our heads said they, kill

him hardly, we will bear the charge, our souls for thine: We have also a law by which he ought to die, for he calleth himself God's son. Even so say our prelates, he ought to die by our laws, he speaketh against the church. And your grace is sworn to defend the liberties and ordinances of the church and to maintain our most holy father's authority; our souls for yours, ye shall do a meritorious deed therein. Nevertheless as Pilate escaped not the judgment of God, even so is it to be feared lest our temporal powers shall not. Wherefore be learned ye that judge the earth, lest the Lord be angry with you and ye perish from the right way.

Be learned ye that judge the earth.

Who slew the prophets? who slew Christ? who slew his apostles? who the martyrs and all the righteous that ever were slain? The kings and the temporal sword at the request of the false prophets. They deserved such murder to do, and to have their part with the hypocrites, because they would not be learned, and see the truth themselves. Wherefore suffered the prophets? because they rebuked the hypocrites which beguiled the world, and namely princes and rulers, and taught them to put their trust in things of vanity, and not in God's word. And taught them to do such deeds of mercy as were profitable unto no man but unto the false prophets themselves only, making merchandize of God's word. Wherefore slew they Christ? even for rebuking the hypocrites: because he said Woe be to you Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men: (Matt. xxiii.) that is, as it is written Luke xi. Ye have taken away the key of knowledge. The law of God which is the key wherewith men bind, and the promises which are the keys wherewith men loose, have our hypocrites also taken away. They will suffer no man to know God's word, but burn it and make heresy of it: yea, and because the people began to smell their falsehood, they make it treason to the king, and breaking of the king's peace to have so much as their *paternoster* in English. And instead of God's law, they bind with their own law. And instead of God's promises, they

Who slew the prophets?

Why were the prophets slain?

What deeds of mercy teach the hypocrites?

Why slew they Christ?

The keys.

Christ is a traitor and a breaker of the king's peace.

How the hypocrites bind and loose.

loose and justify with pardons and ceremonies, which they themselves have imagined for their own profit. They preach, It were better for thee to eat flesh on good Friday, than to hate thy neighbour; but let any man eat flesh but on a Saturday, or break any other tradition of theirs, and he shall be bound, and not loosed, till he have paid the uttermost farthing, either with shame most vile, or death most cruel: but hate thy neighbour as much as thou wilt, and thou shalt have no rebuke of them; yea, rob him, murder him, and then come to them and welcome. They have a sanctuary for thee, to save thee; yea, and a neck-verse, if thou canst but read a little Latin, though it be never so sorrily, so that you be ready to receive the beast's mark. They care for no understanding; it is enough if thou canst roll up a pair of matins, or an even-song, and mumble a few ceremonies. And because they be rebuked, this they rage. Be learned, therefore, ye that judge the world, lest God be angry with you, and ye perish from the right way.

Be learned ye that judge the earth.

For rebuking this was Christ slain. And for the same cause are we persecuted.

Woe be to you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! saith Christ, (Matt. xxi.) for ye devour widows' houses under a colour of long prayer. Our hypocrites rob not the widows only, but knight, squire, lord, duke, king, and emperor, and even the whole world under the same colour; teaching the people to trust in their prayers and not in Christ, for whose sake God hath forgiven all the sin of the whole world unto as many as repent and believe. They fear, then, with purgatory, and promise to pray perpetually, lest the lands should ever return home again unto the right heirs. What hast thou bought with robbing thy heirs, or with giving the hypocrites that which thou robbest of other men? Perpetual prayer? Yea, perpetual pain. For they appoint thee no time of deliverance, their prayers are so mighty. The pope, for money, can empty purgatory when he will. It is, verily, purgatory; for it purgeth and maketh clean riddance: yea, it is hell, for it devoureth all things. His Fatherhood sendeth them to

They be not a little afraid of purgatory that make perpetuities.

Why it is called purgatory.

heaven with *scala cœli;* that is, with a ladder to scale the walls. For by the door, Christ, will they not let them come in. That door have they stopped up, and that because ye should buy ladders of them. For some they pray daily, which gave them perpetuities, and yet make saints of them, receiving offerings in their names, and teaching other to pray to them. None of them, also, which taketh upon them to save other with their prayers, trusteth to be saved thereby themselves, but hire other to pray for them.

Scala Cœli.

The door is stopped up: ye must climb and scale the walls.

Some are prayed for and prayed to also.

The craft that helpeth other helpeth not his own master.

Moses taketh record of God, that he took not of any of the people so much as an ass, neither vexed any of them. (Numb. xvi.) Samuel, in the first book of Kings the xiith chapter, asked all Israel, Whether he had taken any man's ox, or ass; or had vexed any man, or had taken any gift or reward of any man? And all the people testified Nay; yet these two both taught the people, and also prayed for them, as much as our prelates do. (Pet. i.) Peter (vth.) exhorteth the elders to take the oversight of Christ's flock, not for filthy lucre; but of a good will, even for love. Paul (Acts xx.) taketh the priests, or elders, to record, that he had taught repentance and faith, and all the counsel of God. And yet had desired no man's gold, silver, or vesture; but fed himself with the labour of his hands. And yet these two taught, and prayed for the people, as much as our prelates do, with whom it goeth after the common saying, No penny, no paternoster. Which prelates, yet as they teach not, but beat only, so wot they not what prayer meaneth.

Prayer was not sold in the old time.

Moreover, the law of love, which Christ left among us, is to give, and not to receive. What prayer is it, then, that thus robbeth all the world, contrary to that great commandment, which is the end of all commandments, and in which all others are contained? If men should continue to buy prayer four or five hundred years more, as they have done, there would not be a foot of ground in Christendom, neither any worldly thing, which they, that

Their prayer breaketh the great commandment of God. It is time that they were tied up therefore.

will be called spiritual only, should not thus possess. And thus all should be called spiritual.

Woe be to you lawyers! for ye lade men with burdens which they are not able to bear, and ye yourselves touch not the packs with one of your fingers, saith Christ. (Luke xi.) Our lawyers, verily, have laden us a thousand times more. What spiritual kindred have they made in baptism, to let matrimony? besides that, they have added certain degrees unto the law, natural for the same purpose. What an unbearable burthen of chastity do they violently thrust on other men's backs, and how easily bear they it themselves! How sore a burthen! How cruel a hangman! How grievous a torment! Yea, and how painful an hell is this ear-confession unto men's consciences! For the people are brought in belief, that without that they cannot be saved. Insomuch, that some fast certain days in the year, and pray certain superstitious prayers all their lives long, that they may not die without confession. In peril of death, if the priest be not by, the shipmen shrive themselves unto the mast. If any be present, they run then every man into his ear; but to God's promises fly they not, for they know them not. If any man have a death's wound, he crieth immediately for a priest. If a man die without shrift, many take it for a sign of damnation. Many, by reason of that false belief, die in desperation. Many, for shame, keep back of their confession twenty, thirty years, and think all the while that they be damned. I knew a poor woman with child which longed, and being overcome of her passion, ate flesh on a Friday, which thing she durst not confess in the space of eighteen years, and thought all that while that she had been damned, and yet sinned she not at all. Is not this a sore burden, that so weigheth down the soul unto the bottom of hell? What should I say? A great book were not sufficient to rehearse the snares which they have laid to rob men both of their goods, and also of the trust which they should have in God's word.

The burdens of our spiritual lawyers.

Confession tormenteth the conscience, robbeth the purse of money, and the soul of faith.

The Scribes and Pharisees do all their works to be seen of men. They set abroad their phylacteries, and make long borders on their garments, and love to sit uppermost at feasts, and to have the chief seats in the synagogues; that is, in the congregations or councils, and to be called Rabbi; that is to say, Masters, saith Christ. (Matt. xxiii.) Behold the deeds of our spiritualty, and how many thousand fashions are among them to be known by? which, as none is like another, so loveth none another. For every one of them supposeth that all other poll too fast and make too many captives: yet to resist Christ are they all agreed, lest they should be all compelled to deliver up their prisoners to him. Behold the monsters, how they are disguised with mitres, crosiers, and hats: with crosses, pillars, and poleaxes; and with three crowns! What names have they? My Lord Prior, my Lord Abbot, my Lord Bishop, my Lord Archbishop, Cardinal, and Legate; If it please your Fatherhood; If it please your Lordship; If it please your Grace; If it please your Holiness; and innumerable such like. Behold how they are esteemed, and how high they be crept up above all; not into worldly seats only, but into the seat of God, the hearts of men, where they sit above God himself. For both they, and whatsoever they make of their own heads, is more feared and dread than God and his commandments. In them and their deservings put we more trust than in Christ, and his merits. To their promises give we more faith, than to the promises which God hath sworn in Christ's blood.

Bags or baubles to be known by.

Glorious names.

How are they esteemed?

The hypocrites say unto the kings and lords, These heretics would have us down first, and then you, to make of all common. Nay, ye hypocrites and right heretics, approved by open Scripture, the kings and lords are down already, and that so low, that they cannot go lower. Ye tread them under your feet, and lead them captive, and have made them your bond-servants to wait on your filthy lusts; and to avenge your malice on every man,

Kings are down, they cannot go lower.

contrary unto the right of God's word. Ye have not only robbed them of their land, authority, honour, and due obedience which ye owe unto them; but also of their wits, so that they are not without understanding in God's word only; but even in worldly matters, that pertain unto their offices, they are more than children. Ye bear them in hand what ye will, and have brought them even in case like unto them which, when they dance naked in nets, believe they are invisible. We would have them up again, and restored unto the room and authority which God hath given them, and whereof ye have robbed them. And your inward falsehood we do but utter only with the light of God's word, that your hypocrisy might be seen. Be learned, therefore, ye that judge the world, lest God be angry with you, and ye perish from the right way.

Our hypocrites live by theft.

Woe be to you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye make clean the utterside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of bribery and excess, saith Christ. (Matt. xxiii.) Is that which our hypocrites eat and drink, and all their riotous excess, any other thing save robbery, and that which they have falsely gotten with their lying doctrine? Be learned, therefore, ye that judge the world, and compel them to make restitution again.

Consciences that are so narrow about traditions, have wide mouths about God's commandments.

Ye blind guides, saith Christ, ye strain out a gnat and swallow a camel. (Matt. xxiii.) Do not our blind guides also stumble at a straw, and leap over a block, making narrow consciences at trifles, and at matters of weight none at all? If any of them happen to swallow his spittle, or any of the water wherewith he washed his mouth, ere he go to mass; or touch the Sacrament with his nose; or if the ass forget to breathe on him, or happen to handle it with any of his fingers which are not anointed; or say *Alleluia* instead of *Laus tibi Domine;* or *Ite missa est* instead of *Benedicamus Domino;* or pour too much wine in the chalice; or read the gospel without light; or make not his crosses aright, how trembleth he! How feareth he! What an horrible sin is committed!

I cry God mercy, saith he, and you, my ghostly father. But to hold an whore, or another man's wife, to buy a benefice, to set one realm at variance with another, and to cause twenty thousand men to die on a day, is but a trifle and a pastime with them!

As the Jews are the children of Abraham, so are the bishops the successors of the apostles.

The Jews boasted themselves of Abraham. And Christ said unto them, (John viii.) If ye were Abraham's children ye would do the deeds of Abraham. Our hypocrites boast themselves of the authority of Peter, and of Paul, and the other apostles, clean contrary unto the deeds and doctrine of Peter, Paul, and of all the other apostles; which both obeyed all worldly authority and power, usurping none to themselves, and taught all other to fear the kings and rulers, and to obey them in all things, not contrary to the commandment of God, and not to resist them, though they took away life and goods wrongfully; but patiently to abide God's vengeance. This did our spiritualty never yet, nor taught it. They taught not to fear God in his commandments, but to fear them in their traditions. Insomuch, that the evil people, which fear not to resist a good king, and to rise against him, dare not lay hands on one of them, neither for defiling of wife, daughter, or very mother. When all men lose life and lands, they remain always sure and in safety, and ever win somewhat. For whosoever conquereth other men's lands unrightfully, ever giveth them part with them. To them is all thing lawful. In all councils and parliaments are they the chief. Without them may no king be crowned, neither until he be sworn to their liberties. All secrets know they, even the very thoughts of men's hearts. By them all things are ministered No king nor realm may, through their falsehood, live in peace. To believe they teach not in Christ, but in them and their disguised hypocrisy. And of them compel they all men to buy redemption and forgiveness of sins. The people's sin they eat, and thereof wax fat. The more wicked the people are, the more prosperous is their commonwealth.

The spiritualty have taught to fear their traditions.

They win somewhat always.

If kings and great men do amiss, they must build abbeys and colleges; mean men build chantreys, poor find trentals and brotherhoods and begging friars. Their own heirs do men disinherit to endote them. All kings are compelled to submit themselves to them. Read the story of king John, and of other kings. They will have their causes avenged, though whole realms should therefore perish. Take from them their disguising, so are they not spiritual. Compare that they have taught us unto the Scripture, so are we without faith.

They that seek honour have no faith, neither can they do God's message.

Christ saith, (John, vth chapter,) How can ye believe which receive glory one of another? If they that seek to be glorious can have no faith, then are our prelates faithless, verily. And (John viith.) he saith, He that speaketh of himself, seeketh his own glory. If to seek glory and honour be a sure token that a man speaketh of his own-self, and doth his own message, and not his master's; then is the doctrine of our prelates of themselves, and not of God. Be learned, therefore, ye that judge the earth, lest God be angry with you, and ye perish from the right way.

Be learned.

Be learned, lest the hypocrites bring the wrath of God upon your heads, and compel you to shed innocent blood; as they have compelled your predecessors to slay the prophets, to kill Christ and his apostles, and all the righteous that since were slain. God's word pertaineth unto all men; as it pertaineth unto all servants to know their master's will and pleasure; and to all subjects to know the laws of their prince. Let not the hypocrites do all things secretly. What reason is it that mine enemy should put me in prison at his pleasure, and there diet me, and handle me as he lusteth; and judge me himself, and that secretly; and condemn me by a law of his own making, and then deliver me to Pilate to murder me? Let God's word try every man's doctrine, and whomsoever God's word proveth unclean, let him be taken for a leper. One Scripture will help to declare another. And the cir-

God's word ought all men to know.

They do all secretly.

God's word ought to judge.

cumstances, that is to say, the places that go before and after, will give light unto the middle text. And the open and manifest Scriptures will ever improve the false and wrong exposition of the darker sentences. Let the temporal power, to whom God hath given the sword, to take vengeance, look or ever that they leap, and see what they do. Let the causes be disputed before them, and let him that is accused have room to answer for himself. The powers to whom God hath committed the sword shall give account for every drop of blood that is shed on the earth. Then shall their ignorance not excuse them, nor the saying of the hypocrites help them,—My soul for your's, your grace shall do a meritorious deed; your grace ought not to hear them, it is an old heresy condemned by the church. The king ought to look in the Scripture, and see whether it were truly condemned or no, if he will punish it. If the king, or his officer for him, will slay me, so ought the king, or his officer, to judge me. The king cannot, but unto his damnation, lend his sword to kill whom he judgeth not by his own laws. Let him that is accused stand on the one side, and the accuser on the other side; and let the king's judge sit and judge the cause, if the king will kill, and not be a murderer before God.

The right way to understand the Scripture.

The kings have a Judge before whom my soul for yours helpeth not.

Hereof may ye see, not only that our persecution is for the same cause that Christ's was, and that we say nothing that Christ said not; but also that all persecution is only for rebuking of hypocrisy; that is to say, of man's righteousness, and of holy deeds which man hath imagined to please God, and to be saved by, without God's word, and beside the Testament that God hath made in Christ. If Christ had not rebuked the Pharisees because they taught the people to believe in their traditions and holiness, and in offerings that came to their advantage, and that they taught the widows, and them that had their friends dead, to believe in their prayers; and that through their prayers the dead should be saved; and through that

Preach what thou wilt, but rebuke not hypocrisy.

means, robbed them both of their goods, and also of the Testament and promises that God had made, to all that repented in Christ to come, he might have been uncrucified unto this day.

If St. Paul also had not preached against circumcision, that it justified not; and that vows, offerings, and ceremonies justified not; and that righteousness, and forgiveness of sins, came not by any deserving of our deeds, but by faith, or believing the promises of God, and by the deserving and merits of Christ only, he might have lived unto this hour. Likewise, if we preached not against pride, covetousness, lechery, extortion, usury, simony, and against the evil living both of the spiritualty, as well as of the temporalty, and against inclosings of parks, raising of rents and fines, and of the carrying out of wool out of the realm, we might endure long enough. But touch the scab of hypocrisy, or pope-holiness, and go about to utter their false doctrine wherewith they reign as gods in the heart and consciences of men, and rob them not of lands, goods, and authority only, but also of the Testament of God, and salvation that is in Christ; then helpeth thee neither God's word, nor yet if thou didst miracles; but that thou art not an heretic only, and hast the devil within thee, but also a breaker of the king's peace, and a traitor. But let us return unto our lying signs again.

The prelates are clothed in red.

WHAT signifieth that the prelates are so bloody, and clothed in red? that they be ready every hour to suffer martyrdom for the testimony of God's word. Is that also a false sign? When no man dare for them once open his mouth to ask a question of God's word, because they are ready to burn him.

Poleaxes.

What signifieth the poleaxes that are borne before high legates, *a latere?* Whatsoever false sign they make of them I care not; but of this I am sure, that as the old hypocrites when they had slain Christ, set pole-axes to

keep him in his sepulchre, that he should not rise again, even so have our hypocrites buried the Testament that God made unto us in Christ's blood, and to keep it down, that it rise not again, is all their study; whereof these poleaxes are the very sign.

Is not that shepherd's hook, the bishop's cross, a false sign? Is not that white rochet that the bishops and canons wear, so like a nun, and so effeminately, a false sign? What other things are their sandals, gloves, mitres, and all the whole pomp of their disguising, than false signs in which Paul prophesied that they should come? And as Christ warned us to beware of wolves in lamb's skins, and bade us look rather unto their fruits and deeds, than to wonder at their disguisings. Run throughout all our holy religions, and thou shalt find them likewise all clothed in falsehood.

Judge the tree by his fruit, and not by his leaves.

OF THE SACRAMENTS.

FORASMUCH as we be come to signs, we will speak a word or two of the signs which God hath ordained, that is to say, of the Sacraments which Christ left among us for our comfort, that we may walk in light and in truth and in feeling of the power of God. For he that walketh in the day stumbleth not; when contrariwise he that walketh in the night stumbleth. (John xi.) And they that walk in darkness wot not whither they go. (John xii.)

This word sacrament is as much to say as an holy sign, and representeth alway some promise of God. As in the Old Testament God ordained that the rainbow should represent and signify unto all men an oath that God sware to Noah, and to all men after him, that he would no more drown the world through water.

Sacraments are signs of God's promises.

THE SACRAMENT OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST.

SO the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, hath a promise annexed, which the priest should declare in the English tongue. This is my body that is broken for you. This is my blood that is shed for many unto the forgiveness of sins. This do in remembrance of me, saith Christ. (Luke xxii. and 1 Cor. ii.) If when thou seest the Sacrament, or eatest his body, or drinkest his blood, thou have this promise fast in thine heart (that his body was slain, and his blood shed for thy sins) and believest it, so art thou saved and justified thereby. If not, so helpeth it thee not, though thou hearest a thousand masses in a day, or though thou doest nothing else all thy life long than eat his body, or drink his blood: no more than it should help thee in a dead thirst, to behold a bush at a tavern door, if thou knewest not thereby that there were wine within to be sold.

The promise which the sacrament teacheth, justifieth only.

BAPTISM.

BAPTISM hath also his word and promise, which the priest ought to teach the people, and christen them in the English tongue, and not to play the popinjay with *Credo* say ye, *Volo* say ye, and *Baptismum* say ye, for there ought to be no mumming in such a matter. The priest before he baptiseth, asketh, saying: Believest thou in God the Father Almighty, and in his Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost, and that the congregation of Christ is holy? And they say, Yea. Then the priest

upon this faith baptizeth the child in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, for the forgiveness of sins, as Peter saith. (Acts ii.)

The washing without the word helpeth not: but through the word it purifieth and cleanseth us. As thou readest (Eph. v.) How Christ cleanseth the congregation in the fountain of water through the word. The word is the promise that God hath made. Now as a preacher in preaching the word of God saveth the hearers that believe, so doth the washing, in that it preacheth and representeth unto us the promise that God hath made unto us in Christ. The washing preacheth unto us, that we are cleansed with Christ's bloodshedding, which was an offering and a satisfaction for thy sin of all that repent and believe, consenting and submitting themselves unto the will of God. The plunging into the water signifieth that we die, and are buried with Christ, as concerning the old life of sin which is in Adam. And the pulling out again, signifieth that we rise again with Christ in a new life, full of the Holy Ghost, which shall teach us and guide us, and work the will of God in us, as thou seest Rom. vi.

How the Sacraments justify.

OF WEDLOCK.

MATRIMONY or wedlock is a state or a degree ordained of God, and an office wherein the husband serveth the wife, and the wife the husband. It was ordained for a remedy, and to encrease the world, and for the man to help the woman, and the woman the man with all love and kindness; and not to signify any promise that ever I heard or read of in the Scripture. Therefore ought it not to be called a Sacrament. It hath a promise that we sin not in that state, if a man receive his wife as

Matrimony was not ordained to signify any promise.

a gift given to him of God, and the wife her husband likewise; as all manner [of] meats and drinks have a promise that we sin not, if we use them measurably with thanksgiving. If they call matrimony a sacrament because the Scripture useth the similitude of matrimony to express the marriage, or wedlock, that is between us and Christ; (for as a woman though she be never so poor, yet when she is married, is as rich as her husband: even so we when we repent and believe the promises of God in Christ, though we be never so poor sinners, yet are as rich as Christ; all his merits are ours with all that he hath;) if for that cause they call it a sacrament, so will I mustard seed, leaven, a net, keys, bread, water, and a thousand other things which Christ and the prophets, and all the Scripture use, to express the kingdom of heaven and God's word withal. They praise wedlock with their mouth, and say it is an holy thing, as it is verily, but had lever be sanctified with an whore, than to come within the sanctuary.

If wedlock be holy, why had they lever have whores than wives?

OF ORDER.

SUBDEACON, Deacon, Priest, Bishop, Cardinal, Patriarch and Pope, be names of offices and service, or should be, and not Sacraments. There is no promise coupled therewith. If they minister their offices truly, it is a sign that Christ's Spirit is in them, if not, that the devil is in them. Are these all Sacraments, or which one of them? Or what thing in them is that holy sign or Sacrament? The shaving, or the anointing? What also is the promise that is signified thereby? But what word printeth in them that character, that spiritual seal? O

Character.

dreamers and natural beasts without the seal of the Spirit of God; but sealed with the mark of the beast and with cankered consciences.

There is a word called in Latin *Sacerdos*, in Greek *Hiereus*, in Hebrew *Cohan*, that is, a minister, an officer, a sacrificer or a priest; as Aaron was a priest and sacrificed for the people, and was a mediator between God and them. And in the English should it have had some other name than priest? But antichrist hath deceived us with unknown and strange terms, to bring us into confusion and superstitious blindness. Of that manner is Christ a priest for ever, and all we priests through him, and need no more of any such priest on earth to be a mean for us unto God. For Christ hath brought us all into the inner temple, within the veil or forehanging, and unto the mercy-stool of God. And hath coupled us unto God, where we offer every man for himself the desires and petitions of his heart, and sacrifice and kill the lusts and appetites of his flesh, with prayer, fasting, and all manner [of] godly living. Sacerdos.

Another word is there in Greek, called *presbiter*, in Latin *senior*, in English an elder, and is nothing but an officer to teach, and not to be a mediator between God and us. This needeth no anointing of man. They of the Old Testament were anointed with oil, to signify the anointing of Christ, and of us through Christ with the Holy Ghost. Thiswise is no man priest but he that is chosen, save as in time of necessity every person christeneth, so may every man teach his wife and household, and the wife her children. So in time of need if I see my brother sin, I may between him and me rebuke him, and damn his deed by the law of God. And may also comfort them that are in despair with the promises of God, and save them if they believe. Presbiter. Priests now ought not to be anointed with oil.

By a priest then in the New Testament, understand nothing but an elder to teach the younger, and to bring them unto the full knowledge and understanding of Christ; The office of a priest.

and to minister the Sacraments which Christ ordained, which is also nothing but to preach Christ's promises. And by them that give all their study to quench the light of truth, and to hold the people in darkness, understand the disciples of Satan and messengers of antichrist, whatsoever names they have, or whatsoever they call themselves.

They will be holier, but their deeds be not holy at all.

And as concerning that our spiritualty (as they will be called) make themselves holier than the lay people, and take so great lands and goods to pray for them, and promise them pardons and forgiveness of sins, or absolution; without preaching of Christ's promises, is falsehood, and the working of antichrist: and (as I have said) the ravening of those wolves which Paul (Acts xx.) prophesied should come after his departing not sparing the flock. Their doctrine is that merchandise whereof Peter speaketh, saying: Through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you. (2 Pet. ii.) And their reasons, wherewith they prove their doctrine, are, (as saith Paul 1 Tim. vi.) Superfluous disputings, arguings or brawlings of men with corrupt minds, and destitute of truth, which think that lucre is godliness. But Christ saith (Matt. vii.) By their fruits shalt thou know them; that is, by their filthy covetousness, and shameless ambition, and drunken desire of honour, contrary unto the ensample and doctrine of Christ and of his apostles. Christ said to Peter, (the last chapter of John:) Feed my sheep: and not shear thy flock. And Peter saith, (1 Pet. v.) Not being lords over the parishes: but these shear, and are become lords. Paul saith (2 Cor. ii.) Not that we be lords over your faith: but these will be lords, and compel us to believe whatsoever they lust, without any witness of Scripture, yea, clean contrary to the Scripture; when the open text rebuketh it. Paul saith, It is better to give, than to receive. (Acts. xx.) But these do nothing in the world but lay snares to catch and receive whatsoever cometh, as it were the gaping mouth of hell. And (2 Cor. xii.) I seek not yours, but you: but these seek not you to Christ, but your's to themselves,

Compare their deeds to the doctrine and deeds of Christ and of his apostles, and judge their fruits.

and therefore lest their deeds should be rebuked will not come at the light.

Nevertheless the truth is, that we are all equally beloved in Christ, and God hath sworn to all indifferently. According, therefore, as every man believeth God's promises, longeth for them, and is diligent to pray unto God to fulfil them, so is his prayer heard, and as good is the prayer of a cobbler, as of a cardinal; and of a butcher, as of a bishop; and the blessing of a baker that knoweth the truth, is as good as the blessing of our most holy father the pope. And by blessing, understand not the wagging of the pope's or bishop's hand over thine head; but prayer, as when we say, God make thee a good man, Christ put his Spirit in thee, or give thee grace and power to walk in the truth, and to follow his commandments, &c. As Rebecca's friends blessed her when she departed, (Gen. xxiv.) saying, Thou art our sister: grow unto thousand thousands, and thy seed possess the gates of their enemies. And as Isaac blessed Jacob, (Gen. xxvii.) saying, God give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, abundance of corn, wine and oil, &c. And (Gen. xxviii.) Almighty God bless thee, and make thee grow, and multiply thee, that thou mayest be a great multitude of people, and give to thee and to thy seed after thee, the blessings of Abraham, that thou mayest possess the land wherein thou art a stranger, which he promised to thy grandfather, and such like.

What blessing meaneth.

Last of all, one singular doubt they have; what maketh the priest; the anointing or putting on of the hands, or what other ceremony, or what words? About which they brawl and scold, one ready to tear out another's throat. One saith this, and another that, but they cannot agree. Neither can any of them make so strong a reason which another cannot improve. For they are all out of the way, and without the Spirit of God to judge spiritual things. Howbeit to this I answer, that when Christ called twelve up into the mountain, and chose them, then immediately with-

out any anointing or ceremony were they his apostles; that is to wit, ministers chosen to be sent to preach his Testament unto all the whole world. And after the resurrection, when he had opened their wits, and given them knowledge to understand the secrets of his Testament, and how to bind and loose, and what he would have them to do in all things, then he sent them forth with a commandment to preach, and bind the unbelieving that continue in sin, and to loose the believing that repent. And that commandment or charge made them bishops, priests, popes, and all thing. If they say that Christ made them priests at his maundy, or last supper, when he said, Do this in the remembrance of me: I answer, Though the apostles wist not then what he meant, yet I will not strive nor say thereagainst. Neverthelater the commandment and the charge which he gave them made them priests.

The commandment maketh priests.

And (Acts the first,) when Matthias was chosen by lot, it is not to be doubted but that the apostles, after their common manner, prayed for him that God would give him grace to minister his office truly; and put their hands on him, and exhorted him, and gave him charge to be diligent and faithful, and then was he as great as the best. And (Acts vi.) when the disciples that believed had chosen six deacons to minister to the widows, the apostles prayed and put their hands on them, and admitted them without more ado. Their putting on of hands was not after the manner of the dumb blessing of our holy bishops, with two fingers; but they spake unto them, and told them their duty, and gave them a charge, and warned them to be faithful in the Lord's business: as we choose temporal officers, and read their duty to them, and they promise to be faithful ministers, and then are admitted. Neither is there any other manner or ceremony at all required in making of our spiritual officers, than to choose an able person, and then to rehearse him his duty, and give him his charge, and so to put him in his room. And as for that other solemn doubt, as they call it, Whether Judas

Putting on of hands.

was a priest or no? I care not what he then was; but of this I am sure, that he is now not only priest, but also bishop, cardinal, and pope. What Judas is now.

PENANCE.

PENANCE is a word of their own forging, to deceive us withal, as many others are. In the Scripture we find, *Penitentia*, repentance. *Agite penitentiam*, do repent; *Peniteat vos*, let it repent you. *Metanoyte*, in Greek, forthink ye, or let it forthink you. Of repentance they have made penance, to blind the people, and to make them think that they must take pains, and do some holy deeds to make satisfaction for their sins; namely, such as they enjoin them. As thou mayest see in the chronicles, when great kings and tyrants (which with violence of sword conquered other kings' lands, and slew all that came to hand) came to themselves, and had conscience of their wicked deeds, then the bishops coupled them not to Christ; but unto the pope, and preached the pope unto them, and made them to submit themselves, and also their realms, unto the holy father the pope, and to take penance, as they call it; that is to say, such injunctions as the pope and bishops would command them to do, to build abbeys, to endote them with livelihood, to be prayed for for ever: and to give them exemptions, and privilege, and license, to do what they lust, unpunished. A point of practice.

Repentance goeth before faith, and prepareth the way to Christ, and to the promises. For Christ cometh no but unto them that see their sins in the law, and repent. Repentance, that is to say, this mourning and sorrow of the heart, lasteth all our lives long. For we find ourselves all our lives long too weak for God's law, and therefore sorrow and mourn, longing for strength. Repentance is Repentance.

no sacrament: as faith, hope, love, and knowledge of a man's sins are not to be called sacraments. For they are spiritual and invisible. Now must a sacrament be an outward sign that may be seen, to signify, to represent, and to put a man in remembrance of some spiritual promise, which cannot be seen but by faith only. Repentance, and all the good deeds which accompany repentance, to slay the lusts of the flesh, are signified by baptism. For Paul saith, (Rom vi.) (as it is above rehearsed) Remember ye not (saith he) that all we which are baptized in the name of Christ Jesus, are baptized to die with him? We are buried with him in baptism for to die; that is, to kill the lusts and the rebellion which remaineth in the flesh. And after that he saith, Ye are dead, as concerning sin, but live unto God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. If thou look on the profession of our hearts, and on the spirit and forgiveness which we have received through Christ's merits, we are full dead; but if thou look on the rebellion of the flesh, we do but begin to die, and to be baptized; that is, to drown and quench the lusts, and are full baptized at the last minute of death. And as concerning the working of the Spirit, we begin to live, and grow every day more and more both in knowledge, and also in godly living, according as the lusts abate. As a child receiveth the full soul at the first day, yet groweth daily in the operations and works thereof.

Repentance is signified by baptism.

OF CONFESSION.

CONFESSION is divers: one followeth true faith inseparably, and is the confessing and knowledging with the mouth, wherein we put our trust and confidence. As when we say our Credo, confessing that we trust in God the Father Almighty, and in his truth and promises; and in his son Jesus, our Lord, and in his

merits and deservings; and in the Holy Ghost, and in his power, assistance and guiding. This confession is necessary unto all men that will be saved. For Christ saith, (Matt. x.) He that denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father that is in heaven. And of this confession, saith the holy apostle Paul, in the xth chapter, The belief of the heart justifieth; and to knowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe. This is a wonderful text for our philosophers, or rather sophisters, our worldly wise enemies to the wisdom of God, our deep and profound wells without water, our clouds without moisture of rain; that is to say, natural souls without the Spirit of God, and feeling of godly things. To justify and to make safe are both one thing. And to confess with the mouth is a good work, and the fruit of a true faith, as all other works are.

One confession is to knowledge wherein thou puttest thy trust.

If thou repent and believe the promises, then God's truth justifieth thee; that is, forgiveth thee thy sins, and sealeth thee with his Holy Spirit, and maketh thee heir of everlasting life, through Christ's deservings. Now if thou have true faith, so seest thou the exceeding and infinite love and mercy which God hath showed thee freely in Christ: then must thou needs love again: and love cannot but compel thee to work, and boldly to confess and knowledge thy Lord Christ, and the trust which thou hast in his word. And this knowledge maketh thee safe; that is, declareth that thou art safe already, certifieth thine heart, and maketh thee feel that thy faith is right, and that God's Spirit is in thee, as all other good works do. For if when it cometh unto the point, thou hast no lust to work, nor power to confess, how couldest thou presume to think that God's Spirit were in thee?

If when tyrants oppose thee, thou have power to confess, then art thou sure that thou art safe.

Another confession is there which goeth before faith, and accompanieth repentance. For whosoever repenteth, doth knowledge his sins in his heart. And whosoever doth knowledge his sins, receiveth forgiveness (as saith John, in the first of his first Epistle.) If we knowledge

Another confession is to knowledge thy sins in thine heart unto God.

our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness; that is, because he hath promised, he must for his truth's sake do it. This confession is necessary all our lives long, as is repentance. And as thou understandest of repentance, so understand of this confession, for it is likewise included in the sacrament of baptism. For we always repent, and always knowledge or confess our sins unto God, and yet despair not; but remember that we are washed in Christ's blood; which thing our baptism doth represent and signify unto us.

Shrift. Shrift in the ear is verily a work of Satan, and that the falsest that ever was wrought, and that most hath devoured the faith. It began among the Greeks, and was not as it is now, to reckon all a man's sins in the priest's ear; but to ask counsel of such doubts as men had, as thou mayest see in St. Jerome, and in other authors. Neither went they to priests only, which were very few at that time, no more than preached the word of God, for this so great vantage in so many masses saying was not yet found; but went indifferently, where they saw a good and a learned man. And for because of a little knavery which a deacon at Constantinople played through confession with one of the chief wives of the city, it was laid down again. But we, antichrist's possession, the more knavery we see grow thereby daily, the more we stablish it. A Christian man is a spiritual thing, and hath God's word in his heart, and God's Spirit to certify him of all things. He is not bound to come to any ear. And as for the reasons which they make, are but persuasions of man's wisdom. First, as pertaining unto the keys and manner of binding and loosing, is enough above rehearsed, and in other places. Thou mayest also see how the apostles used them in the Acts, and in Paul's Epistles how at the preaching of faith the Spirit came, and certified their hearts that they were justified through believing the promises.

Shrift was put down for knavery among the Greeks; but is stablished thereby among us.

When a man feeleth that his heart consenteth unto the law of God, and feeleth himself meek, patient, courteous, and merciful to his neighbour, altered and fashioned like unto Christ, why should he doubt but that God hath forgiven him, and chosen him, and put his Spirit in him, though he never cram his sin into the priest's ear?

How a man shall know that his sins are forgiven.

One blind reason have they, saying, How shall the priest unbind, loose, and forgive the sin which he knoweth not? How did the apostles? The Scripture forsake they, and run unto their blind reasons, and draw the Scripture unto a carnal purpose. When I have told thee in thine ear all that I have done my life long, in order and with all circumstances after the shamefullest manner, what canst thou do more than preach me the promises, saying, If thou repent and believe, God's truth shall save thee for Christ's sake? Thou seest not mine heart, thou knowest not whether I repent or no, neither whether I consent to the law, that it is holy, righteous, and good. Moreover, whether I believe the promises or no, is also unknown to thee. If thou preach the law and the promises (as the apostles did) so should they that God hath chosen, repent, and believe and be saved: even now as well as then. Howbeit antichrist must know all secrets to stablish his kingdom, and to work his mysteries withal.

Blind reason to their guide, and not God's Spirit.

They bring also for them the stories of the ten lepers, which is written in the xviith chapter of Luke. Here mark their falsehood, and learn to know them for ever. The fourteenth Sunday after the feast of the Trinity, the beginning of the seventh lesson, is the said gospel, and the eighth and the ninth lessons, with the rest of the seventh, is the exposition of Bede upon the said gospel. Where, saith Bede, of all that Christ healed, of whatsoever disease it were, he sent none unto the priests, but the lepers. And by the lepers interpreteth followers of false doctrine only, which the spiritual officers, and the learned men of the congregation ought to examine, and rebuke their learning with God's word, and to warn the

Learn to know them, for they are verily lepers in their hearts.

congregation to beware of them. Which, if they were afterward healed by the grace of Christ, ought to come before the congregation, and there openly confess their true faith.

But all other vices (saith he) doth God heal within in the conscience.

Though they thiswise read at matins, yet at high mass, if they have any sermon at all, they lie clean contrary unto this open truth. Neither are they ashamed at all. For why? they walk altogether in darkness.

OF CONTRITION.

CONTRITION and repentance are both one, and nothing else but a sorrowful and a mourning heart. And because that God hath promised mercy unto a contrite heart, that is, to a sorrowful and repenting heart, they, to beguile God's word and to stablish their wicked tradition, have feigned that new word *attrition*, saying, Thou canst not know whether thy sorrow or repentance be contrition or attrition, except thou be shriven. When thou art shriven then it is true contrition. Oh! sorry Pharisee, that is thy leaven, of which Christ so diligently bade us beware. (Matt. vi.) And the very prophesy of Peter, Through covetousness with feigned words shall they make merchandise of you. (2 Peter ii.) With such glosses corrupt they God's word, to sit in the consciences of the people, to lead them captive, and to make a prey of them: buying and selling their sins to satisfy their unsatiable covetousness. Nevertheless the truth is, when any man hath trespassed against God, if he repent and knowledge his trespass, God promiseth him forgiveness without ear shrift.

Attrition is of the leaven of the Pharisees.

If he that hath offended his neighbour repent and knowledge his fault, asking forgiveness, if his neighbour forgive him, God forgiveth him also by his holy promise.

(Matt. xviii.) Likewise, if he that sinneth openly when he is openly rebuked, repent and turn, then if the congregation forgive him, God forgiveth him; and so forth whosoever repenteth, and when he is rebuked knowledgeth his fault, is forgiven.

He also that doubteth, or hath his conscience tangled, ought to open his mind unto some faithful brother that is learned, and he shall give him faithful counsel to help him withal.

To whom a man trespasseth, unto him he ought to confess. But to confess myself unto thee O antichrist, whom I have not offended, am I not bound.

Whom a man offendeth to him must he confess.

They of the old law had no confession in the ear. Neither the apostles, nor they that followed many hundred years after, knew of any such whispering. Whereby then was their attrition turned unto contrition? yea, why are we, which Christ came to loose, more bound than the Jews? Yea, and why are we more bound without Scripture? for Christ came not to make us more bound, but to loose us and to make a thousand things no sin which before were sin, and are now become sin again. He left none other law with us but the law of love. He loosed us not from Moses to bind us unto antichrist's ear. God had not tied Christ unto antichrist's ear, neither hath poured all his mercy in thither, for it hath no record in the Old Testament, that antichrist's ear should be *Propiciatorium*, that is to wit, God's mercy-stool, and that God should creep into so narrow a hole, so that he could no where else be found. Neither did God write his laws, neither yet his holy promises in antichrist's ear; but hath graved them with his holy Spirit in the hearts of them that believe, that they might have them always ready at hand to be saved thereby.

It hath no record in the Scripture that God should creep in and hide himself in antichrist's ear.

SATISFACTION.

AS pertaining unto satisfaction, thiswise understand, that he that loveth God hath a commandment, (as St. John saith in the fourth chapter of his first Epistle) to love his neighbour also: whom if thou have offended, thou must make him amends or satisfaction, or at the least-way, if thou be not able, ask him forgiveness, and if he will have mercy of God, he is bound to forgive thee. If he will not, yet God forgiveth thee, if thou thus submit thyself.

Christ is an everlasting satisfaction.

But unto Godward, Christ is a perpetual and an everlasting satisfaction for evermore.

As oft as thou fallest through frailty, repent and come again, and thou art safe and welcome, as thou mayest see by the similitude of the riotous son, (Luke xv.) If thou be lopen out of sanctuary, come in again. If thou be fallen from the way of truth, come thereto again, and thou art safe: if thou be gone astray, come to the fold again, and the Shepherd, Christ, shall save thee, yea, and the angels of heaven shall rejoice at thy coming, so far it is off that any man shall beat thee or chide thee. If any Pharisee envy thee, grudge at thee, or rail upon thee, thy Father shall make answer for thee, as thou seest in the fore-rehearsed likeness or parable. Whosoever therefore is gone out of the way, by whatsoever chance it be, let him come to his baptism again, and unto the profession thereof, and he shall be safe.

Baptism lasteth ever.

For though that the washing of baptism be past, yet the power thereof, that is to say, the word of God, which baptism preacheth, lasteth ever and saveth for ever. As Paul is past and gone, nevertheless the word that Paul preached lasteth ever, and saveth ever as many as come thereto with a repenting heart and a steadfast faith.

Hereby seest thou that when they make penance of re-

pentance and call it a sacrament, and divide it into contrition, confession, and satisfaction, they speak of their own heads, and lie falsely.

ABSOLUTION.

THEIR absolution also justifieth no man from sin. For with the heart do men believe to be justified withal, saith Paul ; (Rom. x.) that is, through faith and believing the promises are we justified, as I have sufficiently proved in other places with the Scripture. Faith (saith Paul in the same place) cometh by hearing, that is to say, by hearing the preacher that is sent from God, and preacheth God's promises. Now when thou absolvest in Latin, the unlearned heareth not. For how, saith Paul, (1 Cor. xiv.) When thou blessest in an unknown tongue, shall the unlearned say Amen unto thy thanksgiving ? for he wotteth not what thou sayest. So likewise the lay wotteth not whether thou loose or bind, or whether thou bless or curse. In like manner is it if the lay understand Latin, or though the priest absolve in English. For in his absolution he rehearseth no promise of God : but speaketh his own words, saying, I, by the authority of Peter and Paul, absolve or loose thee from all thy sins. Thou sayest so, which art but a lying man, and never more than now verily.

Thou sayest, I forgive thee thy sins, and the Scripture, (John the first) That Christ only forgiveth and taketh away the sins of the world. And Paul and Peter, and all the apostles, preach that all is forgiven in Christ and for Christ's sake. God's word only looseth, and thou in preaching that mightest loose also, and else not.

Whosoever hath ears let him hear, and let him that hath eyes see. If any man love to be blind, his blindness on his own head and not on mine.

Of binding and loosing, and of the pope's authority or power.

THEY allege for themselves the saying of Christ to Peter, (Matt. xvi.) Whatsoever thou bindest on earth, it shall be bound; and whatsoever thou looseth and so forth. Lo, say they, whatsoever we bind and whatsoever we loose; here is nothing excepted. And another text lay they of Christ in the last of Matthew; All power is given to me, saith Christ, in heaven and in earth: go therefore and preach, &c. Preaching leaveth the pope out, and saith Lo, all power is given me in heaven and in earth. And thereupon taketh upon him temporal power above king and emperor, and maketh laws and bindeth them. And like power taketh he over God's laws, and dispenseth with them at his lust, making no sin of that which God maketh sin, and maketh sin where God maketh none: yea, and wipeth out God's laws clean, and maketh at his pleasure, and with him is lawful what he lusteth. He bindeth where God looseth, and looseth where God bindeth. He blesseth where God curseth, and curseth where God blesseth. He taketh authority also to bind and loose in purgatory. That permit I unto him, for it is a creature of his own making. He also bindeth the angels. For we read of popes that have commanded the angels to set divers out of purgatory. Howbeit I am not yet certified whether they obeyed or no.

The pope challengeth power, not over man only but over God also.

Purgatory is the pope's creature: he may therefore be bold there.

The pope bindeth the angels.

The true binding and loosing.

Understand therefore that to bind and to loose, is to preach the law of God and the gospel or promises, as thou mayest see in the iiid chapter of the second Epistle to the Corinthians, where Paul called the preaching of the law the ministration of death and damnation, and the preaching of the promises, the ministering of the Spirit and of righteousness. For when the law is preached, all men are found sinners, and therefore damned: and when the gospel and glad tidings are preached, then are all that repent and believe, found righteous in Christ. And so expound it all the old doctors. Saint Jerome saith upon this text, Whatsoever thou bindest, the bishops and priests, saith he, for lack of understanding, take a little presumption of the

St. Jerome against bishops and priests.

Pharisees upon them; and think that they have authority to bind innocents and to loose the wicked, which thing our pope and bishops do. For they say the curse is to be feared, be it right or wrong. Though thou have not deserved, yet if the pope curse thee, thou art in peril of thy soul as they lie: yea, and though he be never so wrongfully cursed, he must be fain to buy absolution. But Saint Jerome saith, As the priest of the old law made the lepers clean or unclean, so bindeth and unbindeth the priest of the new law.

The curse is to be feared.

The right manner of loosing.

The priest there made no man a leper, neither cleansed any man, but God: and the priest judged only by Moses' law who was clean and who was unclean, when they were brought unto him.

So here we have the law of God to judge what is sin and what is not, and who is bound and who is not. Moreover if any man have sinned, yet if he repent and believe the promise, we are sure by God's word that he is loosed and forgiven in Christ. Other authority than thiswise to preach have the priests not. Christ's apostles had no other themselves, as it appeareth throughout all the New Testament. Therefore it is manifest that they have not.

Saint Paul saith, (1 Cor. xv.) When we say all things are under Christ, he is to be excepted that put all under him. God the Father is not under Christ, but above Christ, and Christ's head. (1 Cor. vi.)

Christ understood this text, All power is given me in heaven and in earth: and also used it far otherwise than the pope.

Christ saith (John xii.) I have not spoken of mine own head, but my Father which sent me gave a commandment what I should say and what I should speak. Whatsoever I speak therefore, even as my Father bade me so I speak. If Christ had a law what he should do, how happeneth it that the pope so runneth at large lawless? though that all power were given unto Christ in heaven and in earth: yet had he no power over his Father, nor yet to reign temporally over temporal princes, but a commandment to obey them. How hath the pope then such temporal authority

over king and emperor? How hath he authority above God's laws, and to command the angels, the saints, and God himself?

What authority Christ gave his apostles.

Christ's authority which he gave to his disciples, was to preach the law and to bring sinners to repentance; and then to preach unto them the promises which the Father had made unto all men for his sake. And the same to preach only sent he his apostles. As a king sendeth forth his judges, and giveth them his authority, saying, What ye do that do I. I give you my full power. Yet meaneth he not by that full power, that they should destroy any town or city, or oppress any man, or do what they list, or should reign over the lords and dukes of his realm and over his own self. But giveth them a law with them, and authority to bind and loose, as farforth as the law stretcheth and maketh mention: that is, to punish the evil that do wrong, and to avenge the poor that suffer wrong. And so far as the law stretcheth, will the king defend his judge against all men. And as the temporal judges bind and loose temporally, so do the priests spiritually, and no other ways. Howbeit by falsehood and subtlety the pope reigneth under Christ, as cardinals and bishops do under kings, lawless.

The right binding and loosing.

How the pope reigneth under Christ.

A pœna et culpa is a proper dream.

THE pope (say they,) absolveth or looseth, *a pœna et culpa;* that is, from the fault or trespass, and from the pain due unto the trespass. God, if a man repent, forgiveth the offence only, and not the pain also, say they, save turneth the everlasting pain unto a temporal pain. And appointeth seven years in purgatory for every deadly sin. But the pope for money forgiveth both, and hath more power than God, and is more merciful than God. This do I, saith the pope, of my full power, and of the treasure of the church,—of deservings of martyrs, confessors, and merits of Christ.

The pope is more mighty and more merciful for money than God is for the death of his only Son.

The merits of saints.

First, the merits of the saints did not save themselves, but were saved by Christ's merits only.

Secondarily, God hath promised Christ's merits unto all that repent; so that whosoever repenteth, is immediately heir of all Christ's merits, and beloved of God as Christ is. How then came this foul monster to be lord over Christ's merits, so that he hath power to sell that which God giveth freely? O dreamers! yea, O devils, and O venemous scorpions, what poison have ye in your tails! O pestilent leaven, that so turneth the sweet bread of Christ's doctrine into the bitterness of gall!

The merits of Christ.

The pope selleth that which God giveth freely.

The friars run in the same spirit, and teach, saying, Do good deeds, and redeem the pains that abide you in purgatory; yea, give us somewhat to do good works for you. And thus is sin become the profitablest merchandise in the world. Oh! the cruel wrath of God upon us, because we love not the truth.

Friars.

Sin is the best merchandise that is.

For this is the damnation and judgment of God, to send a false prophet unto him that will not hear the truth. I know you, saith Christ, (John v.) that ye have not the love of God in you. I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not; if another shall come in his own name, him shall ye receive. This doth God avenge himself on the malicious hearts which have no love to his truth.

Christ prophesied of antichrist, and told why he should come.

All the promises of God have they either whipped clean out, or thus leavened them with open lies, to stablish their confession withal. And to keep us from knowledge of the truth they do all thing in Latin.

The promises are either put out or leavened, and why.

They pray in Latin, they christen in Latin, they bless in Latin, they give absolution in Latin, only curse they in the English tongue. Wherein they take upon them greater authority than ever God gave them. For in their curses, as they call them, with book, bell, and candle, they command God and Christ, and the angels, and all saints, to curse them: Curse them God (say they,) Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; curse them Virgin Mary, &c. O ye abominable! who gave you authority to command God to curse? God commandeth you to bless, and ye com-

All is in Latin.

The pope commandeth God to curse.

mand him to curse! Bless them that persecute you: bless but curse not, saith St. Paul, (Rom. xii.) What tyranny will these not use over men, which presume and take upon them to be lords over God, and to command him? If God shall curse any man, who shall bless and make him better? No man can amend himself, except God pour his Spirit unto him. Have we not a commandment to love our neighbour as ourselves? How can I love him and curse him also? James saith, It is not possible that blessing and cursing should come both out of one mouth. Christ commandeth, (Matt. v.) saying, Love your enemies. Bless them that curse you. Do good to them that hate you. Pray for them that do you wrong and persecute you, that ye may be the children of your heavenly Father.

A custom that is used in the marches of Wales.

In the marches of Wales it is the manner if any man have an ox or a cow stolen, he cometh to the curate, and desireth him to curse the stealer. And he commandeth the parish to give him every man God's curse and his. God's curse and mine have he, saith every man in the parish. O merciful God! what is blasphemy, if this be not blasphemy and shaming of the doctrine of Christ?

Understand, therefore, the power of excommunication is this: if any man sin openly, and amendeth not when he is warned, then ought he to be rebuked openly before all the parish. And the priest ought to prove, by the Scripture, that all such have no part with Christ. For Christ serveth not but for them that love the law of God, and consent that it is good, holy, and righteous: and repent, sorrowing and mourning for power and strength to fulfil it. And all the parish ought to be warned to avoid the company of all such, and to take them as heathen people. This is not done that he should perish, but to save him, to make him ashamed, and to kill the lusts of the flesh, that the Spirit might come unto the knowledge of truth. And we ought to pity him, and to

have compassion on him, and with all diligence to pray unto God for him, to give him grace to repent, and to come to the right way again; and not to use such tyranny over God and man, commanding God to curse. And if he repent, we ought with all mercy to receive him in again. This mayest thou see Matt. xviii. and 1 Cor. v. and 2 Cor. ii.

CONFIRMATION.

IF confirmation have a promise, then it justifieth as far as the promise extendeth. If it have no promise, then is it not of God, as the bishops be not. The apostles and ministers of God preach God's word; and God's signs or sacraments signify God's word also, and put us in remembrance of the promises which God hath made unto us in Christ. Contrariwise, antichrist's bishops preach not, and their sacraments speak not, but as the disguised bishop's mum; so are their superstitious sacraments dumb. After that the bishops had left preaching, then feigned they this dumb ceremony of confirmation, to have somewhat at the leastway, whereby they might reign over their dioceses. They reserved unto themselves also the christening of bells, and conjuring or hallowing of churches and church-yards, and of altars and super-altars, and hallowing of chalices, and so forth; whatsoever is of honour or profit. Which confirmation, and the other conjurations, also, they have now committed to their suffragans; because they themselves have no leisure to minister such things, for their lusts and pleasures, and abundance of all things; and for the cumbrance that they have in the king's matters and business of the realm. One

God's sacraments preach God's promises.

The pope's sacraments are dumb.

Christening of bells.

Why suffragans are ordained.

The bishops divide all among them.

keepeth the privy seal; another the great seal; the third is confessor, (that is to say, a privy traitor and a secret Judas,) he is president of the prince's council; he is an ambassador; another sort of the king's secret council. Woe is unto the realms where they are of the council. As profitable are they, verily, unto the realms with their counsel, as the wolves unto the sheep, or the foxes unto the geese.

Ceremonies bring not the Holy Ghost.

They will say that the Holy Ghost is given through such ceremonies. If God had so promised, so should it be; but Paul saith, (Gal. iii.) that the Spirit is received through preaching of the faith. And (Acts x.) while Peter preached the faith, the Holy Ghost fell on Cornelius and on his household. How shall we say then to that which they will lay against us, in the eighth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, where Peter and John put their hands on the Samaritans, and the Holy Ghost came? I say, that by putting, or with putting, or as they put their hands on them, the Holy Ghost came. Nevertheless, the putting on of the hands did neither help nor hinder. For the text saith, They prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghost.

Putting on of hands.

God had made the apostles a promise, that he would with such miracles confirm their preaching, and move other to the faith. (Mark, the last.) The apostles, therefore, believed and prayed God to fulfil his promise; and God, for his truth's sake, even so did. So was it the prayer of faith that brought the Holy Ghost, as thou mayest see also in the last of James. If any man be sick, saith James, call the elders of the congregation, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord, and the prayer of faith shall heal the sick. Where a promise is, there is faith bold to pray, and God true to give her her petition. Putting on of the hands is an indifferent thing. For the Holy Ghost came by preaching of the faith, and miracles were done at the prayer of faith, as well without putting on of the hands as with, as thou seest in many places. Putting on of the

Prayer of faith doth the miracles.

The putting on of hands doth neither help nor hinder.

hands was the manner of that nation, as it was to rend their clothes, and to put on sackcloth, and to sprinkle themselves with ashes and earth, when they heard of or saw any sorrowful thing, as it was Paul's manner to stretch out his hand when he preached. And as it is our manner to hold up our hands when we pray, and as some kiss their thumb nail, and put it to their eyes, and as we put our hands on children's heads when we bless them, saying, Christ bless thee, my son, and God make thee a good man: which gestures neither help nor hinder. This mayest thou well see by the xiith of the Acts, where the Holy Ghost commanded to separate Paul and Barnabas, to go and preach. Then the other fasted and prayed, and put their hands on their heads and sent them forth. They received not the Holy Ghost then by putting on of hands, but the other as they put their hands on their heads prayed for them, that God would go with them, and strength them, and couraged them also, bidding them to be strong in God, and warned them to be faithful and diligent in the work of God, and so forth.

ANOILING.

LAST of all cometh the anoiling, without promise, and therefore without the Spirit, and without profit, but altogether unfruitful and superstitious. The sacraments, which they have imagined are all without promise, and therefore help not. For whatsoever is not of faith is sin. (Rom. xv.) Now without a promise can there be no faith. The sacraments which Christ himself ordained, which have also promises, and would save us if we knew them, and believed them, them minister they in the Latin tongue. So are they also become as unfruitful as the

Whatsoever is not of faith is sin.

The Latin tongue destroyeth the faith.

That the work without the promise saveth is improved.

other. Yea they make us believe that the work itself without the promise saveth us, which doctrine they learned of Aristotle. And thus are we become an hundred times worse than the wicked Jews, which believed that the very work of their sacrifice justified them. Against which Paul fighteth in every Epistle, proving that nothing helpeth save the promises which God hath sworn in Christ.

The people believe in the work without the promise.

Ask the people what they understand by their baptism or washing? And thou shalt see, that they believe, how that the very plunging into the water saveth them: of the promises they know not, nor what is signified thereby. Baptism is called *volowing* in many places of England, because the priest saith, *Volo* say ye. The child was well *volowed* (say they) yea, and our vicar is as fair a *volower* as ever a priest within this twenty miles.

Volowing.

Behold how narrowly the people look on the ceremony. If ought be left out, or if the child be not altogether dipt in the water, or if, because the child is sick, the priest dare not plunge him into the water, but pour water on his head, how tremble they! how quake they! how say ye, Sir John, say they, is this child christened enough? hath it his full christendom? They believe verily that the child is not christened; yea I have known priests, that have gone unto the orders again, supposing that they were not priests, because that the bishop left one of his ceremonies undone. That they call confirmation, the people call bishoping. They think that if the bishop butter the child in the forehead, that it is safe. They think that the work maketh safe, and likewise suppose they of anoiling. Now is this false doctrine, verily. For James saith in the first chapter of his Epistle: Of his good will begat he us with the word of life; that is, with the word of promise. In which we are made God's sons, and heirs of the goodness of God, before any good works. For we cannot work God's will till we be his sons, and know his will, and have his Spirit to teach us. And St. Paul saith in the fifth chapter of his Epistle to the Ephesians: Christ

The work saveth not, but the word; that is to say, the promise.

cleansed the congregation in the fountain of water, through the word. And Peter saith in the first of his first Epistle: Ye are born anew, not of mortal seed, but of immortal seed, by the word of God, which liveth and lasteth ever. Paul in every epistle warneth us, that we put no trust in works, and to beware of persuasions or arguments of man's wisdom, of superstitiousness, of ceremonies, of pope-holiness, and of all manner [of] disguising. And exhorteth us to cleave fast unto the naked and pure word of God. The promise of God is the anchor that saveth us in all temptations. If all the world be against us, God's word is stronger than the world. If the world kill us that shall make us alive again. If it be possible for the world to cast us into hell from thence, yet shall God's word bring us again. Hereby seest thou that it is not the work, but the promise that justifieth us through faith. Now where no promise is, there can no faith be, and therefore no justifying, though there be never so glorious works. The sacrament of Christ's body after thiswise preach they. Thou must believe that it is no more bread, but the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone; even as he went here on earth, save his coat. For that is here yet, I wot not in how many places. I pray thee what helpeth all this? Here is no promise. The devils know that Christ died on a Friday, and the Jews also. What are they holp thereby? We have a promise that Christ, and his body, and his blood, and all that he did, and suffered, is a sacrifice, a ransom, and a full satisfaction for our sins; that God for his sake will think no more on them, if they have power to repent and believe.

Works, be they never so glorious, justify not.

In all thing they leave out the promises.

Holy workmen think that God rejoiceth in the deed self, without any farther respect. They think also that God, as a cruel tyrant, rejoiceth, and hath delectation in our pain taking without any farther respect. And therefore many of them martyr themselves without cause, after the ensample of Baal's priests which (2 Kings xviii.) cut themselves to please their god withal, and as the old hea-

then pagans sacrificed their children in the fire unto their gods. The monks of the Charterhouse think that the very eating of fish in itself pleaseth God, and refer not the eating to the chastening of the body. For when they have slain their bodies with cold phlegm of fisheating; yet then will they eat no flesh, and slay themselves before their days. We also, when we offer our sons or daughters, and compel or persuade them to vow and profess chastity, think that the very pain, and that rage and burning which they suffer in abstaining from a make, pleaseth God; and so refer not our chastity to our neighbour's profit. For when we see thousands fall to innumerable diseases thereby, and to die before their days: yea, though we see them break the commandments of God daily, and also of very impatiency work abominations against nature, too shameful to be spoken of: yet will we not let them marry, but compel them to continue still with violence. And thus teach our divines, as it appeareth by their arguments. He that taketh most pain, say they, is greatest; and so forth.

The people are thoroughly brought in belief that the deed in itself without any farther respect saveth them; if they be so long at church; or say so many paternosters; and read so much in a tongue which they understand not; or go so much a pilgrimage; and take so much pain; or fast such a superstitious fast; or observe such a superstitious observance, neither profitable to himself nor to his neighbour: but done of a good intent only say they, to please God withal. Yea, to kiss the pax they think it a meritorious deed; when to love their neighbour, and to forgive him, (which thing is signified thereby,) they study not to do, nor have power to do, nor think that they are bound to do it, if they be offended by him. So sore have our false prophets brought the people out of their wits, and have wrapped them in darkness, and have rocked them asleep in blindness and ignorance. Now is all such doctrine false doctrine, and all such faith, false faith. For the deed pleaseth not, but as far forth as it is applied to

How far forth the deed is acceptable to God.

our neighbour's profit, or the taming of our bodies to keep the commandment.

Now must the body be tamed only, and that with the remedies that God hath ordained, and not killed. Thou must not forswear the natural remedy which God hath ordained; and bring thyself into such case that thou shouldest either break God's commandment, or kill thyself, or burn night and day without rest, so that thou canst not once think a godly thought. Neither is it lawful to forsake thy neighbour; and to withdraw thyself from serving him, and to get thee into a den, and live idly, profitable to no man; but robbing all men, first of faith, and then of goods and land, and of all he hath; with making him believe in the hypocrisy of thy superstitious prayers, and pope-holy deeds. The prayer of faith, and the deeds thereof that spring of love, are accepted before God. The prayer is good, according to the proportion of faith; and the deed, according to the measure of love. Now he that bideth in the world, as monks call it, hath more faith than the cloisterer. For he hangeth on God in all things. He must trust God to send him good speed, good luck, favour, help, a good master, a good neighbour, a good servant, a good wife, a good chapman-merchant, to send his merchandise safe to land, and a thousand like. He loveth also more, which appeareth in that he doth service always unto his neighbour. To pray one for another are we equally bound; and to pray is a thing that we may always do whatsoever we have in hand; and that to do may no man hire another: Christ's blood hath hired us already. Thus in the deed delighteth God, as far forth as we do it, either to serve our neighbour withal, (as I have said) or to tame the flesh that we may fulfil the commandment from the bottom of the heart.

Our prayers acceptable according to our faith, our deeds according to the measure of love.

And as for our pain taking, God rejoiceth not therein as a tyrant; but pitieth us, and as it were mourneth with us, and is alway ready and at hand to help us, if we call, as a merciful father and a kind mother. Neverthelater

he suffereth us to fall into many temptations, and much adversity: yea, himself layeth the cross of tribulation on our backs, not that he rejoiceth in our sorrow, but to drive sin out of the flesh, which can none otherwise be cured: as the physician and surgeon do many things which are painful to the sick, not that they rejoice in the pains of the poor wretches, but to persecute and to drive out the diseases which can no otherwise be healed.

When the people believe, therefore, if they do so much work, or suffer so much pain, or go so much a pilgrimage, that they are safe, [it] is a false faith. For a Christian man is not saved by works, but by faith in the promises before all good works; though that the works (when we work God's commandment with a good will, and not works of our own imagination) declare that we are safe, and that the Spirit of Him that hath made us safe is in us: yea, and as God through preaching of faith doth purge and justify the heart, even so through working of deeds, doth he purge and justify the members, making us perfect both in body and soul, after the likeness of Christ.

A Christian man needeth not to go a pilgrimage to be saved thereby.

Neither needeth a Christian man to come hither or thither, to Rome, to Jerusalem, or St. James; or any other pilgrimage far or near, to be saved thereby, or to purchase forgiveness of his sins. For a Christian man's health and salvation is within him: even in his mouth. (Rom. x.) The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thine heart; that is, the word of faith which we preach, saith Paul. If we believe the promises with our hearts, and confess them with our mouths, we are safe. This is our health within us. But how shall they believe that they hear not? And how shall they hear without a preacher? saith Paul. (Rom. x.) For look on the promises of God, and so are all our preachers dumb. Or if they preach them, they so sauce them and leaven them, that no stomach can brook them, nor find any savour in them. For they paint us such an ear confession, as is

Salvation is within us.

Confession.

impossible to be kept, and more impossible that it should stand with the promises and testament of God. And they join them penance, as they call it, to fast, to go pilgrimages, and give so much to make satisfaction withal. They preach their masses, their merits, their pardons, their ceremonies, and put the promise clean out of possession. The word of health and salvation is nigh thee, in thy mouth and thine heart, saith Paul. Nay, say they, thy salvation is in our faithful care. This is their hold, thereby know they all secrets, thereby mock they all men, and all mens' wives; and beguile knight and squire, lord and king, and betray all realms. The bishops with the pope have a certain conspiration and secret treason against the whole world. And by confession, know they what kings and emperors think. If ought be against them, do they never so evil, then move they their captives to war and to fight, and give them pardons to slay whom they will have taken out of the way. They have with falsehood taken from all kings and emperors their right and duties, which now they call their freedoms, liberties, and privileges, and have perverted the ordinances that God left in the world, and have made every king swear to defend their falsehood against their ownselves. So that now, if any man preach God's word truly, and show the freedom and liberty of the soul which we have in Christ, or intend to restore the kings again to their duties and right, and to the room and authority which they have of God, and of shadows to make them kings in deed, and to put the world in his order again: then the kings deliver their swords and authority unto the hypocrites, to slay him. So drunken are they with the wine of the whore.

Bishops work their treason through confession.

Kings be sworn to the bishops, and not the bishops to the kings.

The text that followeth, in Paul, will they haply lay to my charge and others. How shall they preach, except they be sent, saith Paul in the said xth to the Romans. We (will they say,) are the pope, cardinals and bishops: all authority is ours. The Scripture pertaineth unto us, and

How shall they preach except they be sent, is expounded.

is our possession. And we have a law, that whosoever presume to preach without the authority of the bishops, is excommunicate in the deed-doing. Whence, therefore, hast thou thine authority? will they say. The old pharisees had the Scripture in captivity likewise, and asked Christ, By what authority doest thou these things? As who should say, we are pharisees, and thou art none of our order, nor hast authority of us. Christ asked them another question, and so will I do our hypocrites. Who sent you? God? Nay, he that is sent of God speaketh God's word. (John iii.) Now speak ye not God's word, nor any thing save your own laws, made clean contrary unto God's word. Christ's apostles preached Christ, and not themselves. He that is of the truth preacheth the truth. Now ye preach nothing but lies, and therefore are of the devil, the father of all lies, and of him are ye sent. And as for mine authority, or who sent me, I report me unto my works as Christ. (John v. and x.) If God's word bear record that I say truth, why should any man doubt, but that God, the father of truth and of light, hath sent me; as the father of lies and of darkness hath sent you, and that the Spirit of truth and of light is with me, as the spirit of lies and of darkness is with you? By this means thou wilt that every man be a preacher, will they say. Nay, verily. For God will that not, and therefore will I it not; no more than I would that every man of London were mayor of London, or every man of the realm king thereof. God is not the author of dissention and strife, but of unity and peace, and of good order. I will, therefore, that where a congregation is gathered together in Christ, one be chosen after the rule of Paul, and that he only preach, and else no man openly; but that every man teach his household after the same doctrine. But if the preacher preach false: then whosoever's heart God moveth, to the same it shall be lawful to rebuke and improve the false teacher, with the clear and manifest Scripture, and that same is no doubt a true prophet sent of God. For

How to know who is sent of God, and who is not.

No man may preach but he that is called and sent of God.

the Scripture is God's, and theirs that believe, and not the false prophet's.

SACRAMENT is then as much to say as an holy sign. And the sacraments, which Christ ordained, preach God's word unto us; and therefore justify and minister the Spirit to them that believe, as Paul through preaching the gospel was a minister of righteousness, and of the Spirit, unto all that believed his preaching. Dumb ceremonies are no sacraments, but superstitiousness. Christ's sacraments preach the faith of Christ, as his apostles did, and thereby justify. Antichrist's dumb ceremonies preach not the faith that is in Christ, as his apostles, our bishops and cardinals, do not. But as antichrist's bishops are ordained to kill whosoever preach the true faith of Christ; so are his ceremonies ordained to quench the faith which Christ's sacraments preach. And hereby mayest thou know the difference between Christ's signs or sacraments, and antichrist's signs or ceremonies—that Christ's signs speak, and antichrist's be dumb.

The difference between true sacraments and false.

Hereby seest thou what is to be thought of all other ceremonies—as hallowed water, bread, salt, boughs, bells, wax, ashes, and so forth; and all other disguisings and apes'-play; and of all manner [of] conjurations, as the conjuring of church and churchyards, and of altar-stones, and such like. Where no promise of God is, there can be no faith, nor justifying, nor forgiveness of sins. For it is more than madness to look for any thing of God, save that he hath promised: how far he hath promised, so far is he bound to them that believe, and further not. To have a faith, therefore, or a trust in any thing, where God hath not promised, is plain idolatry, and a worshipping of thine own imagination instead of God. Let us see the pith of a ceremony or two, to judge the rest by. In conjuring of holy water, they pray, that whosoever be sprinkled therewith may receive health as well of body as of soul: and likewise in making holy bread, and so forth, in the con-

A faith without God's promise is idolatry.

jurations of other ceremonies. Now we see by daily experience, that half their prayer is unheard. For no man receiveth health of body thereby. No more, of likelihood, do they of soul. Yea, we see also by experience, that no man receiveth health of soul thereby. For no man by sprinkling himself with holy water, and with eating holy bread, is more merciful than before, or forgiveth wrong, or becometh at one with his enemy, or is more patient and less covetous, and so forth. Which are the sure tokens of the soul's health.

The bishop's blessing.

They preach also that the wagging of the bishop's hand over us blesseth us, and putteth away our sins. Are these works not against Christ? How can they do more shame unto Christ's blood? For if the wagging of the bishop's hand over me be so precious a thing in the sight of God that I am thereby blessed, how then am I full blessed with all spiritual blessing in Christ? as Paul saith: (Eph. i.) Or if my sins be full done away in Christ, how remaineth there any to be done away by such phantasies? The apostles knew no ways to put away sin, or to bless us, but by preaching Christ. Paul saith (Gal. ii.) If righteousness come by the law, then Christ died in vain. So dispute I here: If blessing come by the wagging of the bishop's hand, then died Christ in vain, and his death blesseth us not. And a little afore saith Paul, If while we seek to be justified by Christ, we be yet found sinners, (so that we must be justified by the law or ceremonies) is not Christ then a minister of sin? So dispute I here: If while we seek to be blessed in Christ we are yet unblessed, and must be blessed by the wagging of the bishop's hand, what have we then of Christ but curse? Thou wilt say: when we come first to the faith, then Christ forgiveth us and blesseth us. But the sins which we afterward commit are forgiven us through such things. I answer, if any man repent truly, and come to the faith, and put his trust in Christ, then as oft as he sinneth of frailty, at the sigh of the heart is his sin put away in Christ's blood. For Christ's

How the apostles blessed us.

Repentance and sure faith in Christ purgeth our sins.

blood purgeth ever and blesseth ever. For John saith in the second of his first Epistle, This I write unto you that ye sin not. And though any man sin (meaning of frailty, and so repent) yet have we an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ which is righteous, and he it is that obtaineth grace for our sins. And (Heb. vii.) it is written, But this man (meaning Christ) because he lasteth or abideth ever, hath an everlasting priesthood. Therefore is he able also ever to save them that come to God through him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for us. The bishops therefore ought to bless us in preaching Christ, and not to deceive us and to bring the curse of God upon us with wagging their hands over us. To preach is their duty only, and not to offer their feet to be kissed, or testicles or stones to be groped. We feel also by experience that after the pope's, bishop's, or cardinal's blessing, we are no otherwise disposed in our souls than before.

The protestation of the author.

Let this be sufficient as concerning the sacraments and ceremonies, with this protestation: that if any can say better or improve this with God's word, no man shall be better content therewith than I. For I seek nothing but the truth, and to walk in the light. I submit therefore this work and all other that I have made or shall make, (if God will that I shall more make) unto the judgments, not of them that furiously burn all truth, but of them which are ready with God's word to correct, if any thing be said amiss, and to further God's word.

Confession robbeth the sacraments and maketh them fruitless.

I will talk a word or two after the worldly wisdom with them, and make an end of this matter. If the sacraments justify, as they say, (I understand by justifying, forgiveness of sins,) then do they wrong unto the sacraments, inasmuch as they rob the most part of them through confession of their effect, and of the cause wherefore they were ordained. For no man may receive the body of Christ, no man may marry, no man may be oiled or anoiled as they call it; no man may receive orders, except he be first shriven. Now when the sins be forgiven by shrift aforehand, there

is nought left for the sacraments to do. They will answer that at the leastway they increase grace, and not the sacraments only, but also hearing of mass, matins and evensong; and receiving of holy water, holy bread, and of the bishop's blessing, and so forth by all ceremonies. By grace I understand the favour of God, and also the gifts and working of his Spirit in us; as love, kindness, patience, obedience, mercifulness, despising of worldly things, peace, concord, and such like. If after thou hast heard so many masses, matins, and evensongs; and after thou hast received holy bread, holy water, and the bishop's blessing, or a cardinal's or the pope's; if thou wilt be more kind to thy neighbour, and love him better than before; if thou be more obedient unto thy superiors; more merciful, more ready to forgive wrong done unto thee, more despisest the world, and more athirst after spiritual things; if after that a priest hath taken orders he be less covetous than before; if a wife after so many and oft pilgrimages be more chaste, more obedient unto her husband, more kind to her maids and other servants; if gentlemen, knights, lords, and kings and emperors, after they have said so often daily service with their chaplains, know more of Christ than before, and can better skill to rule their tenants, subjects, and realms christianly than before, and be content with their duties; then do such things increase grace. If not, it is a lie. Whether it be so or no, I report me to experience. If they have any other interpretations of justifying or grace, I pray them to teach it me. For I would gladly learn it. Now let us go to our purpose again.

What grace is.

How to know what justifieth and what not; or what bringeth grace and what not.

With their chaplains, quoth he, God give grace; their chaplains at the last make them not so mad to say service alone while they.

OF MIRACLES AND WORSHIPPING OF SAINTS.

ANTICHRIST shall not only come with lying signs, and disguised with falsehood, but also with lying miracles and wonders, saith Paul in the said place, (2 Thess. ii.) All the true miracles which are of God, are shewed (as I above rehearsed) to move us to hear God's word, and to stablish our faith therein: and to confirm the truth of God's promises, that we might without all doubting believe them. For God's word, through faith, bringeth the Spirit into our hearts and also life, as Christ saith, (John vi.) The words which I speak are spirit and life. The word also purgeth us and cleanseth us, as Christ saith, (John xv.) Ye are clean by the means of the word. Paul saith, (1 Tim. ii.) One God, one Mediator (that is to say, advocate, intercessor, or an at-one-maker) between God and man: the man Christ Jesus which gave himself a ransom for all men. Peter saith of Christ (Acts iv.) Neither is there health in any other: neither yet also any other name given unto men wherein we must be saved. So now Christ is our peace, our redemption or ransom for our sins, our righteousness, satisfaction, and all the promises of God are yea and Amen in him; (2 Cor. i.) And we, for the infinite love which God hath to us in Christ, love him again, love also his laws, and love one another. And the deeds which we henceforth do, do we not to make satisfaction or to obtain heaven: but to succour our neighbour, to tame the flesh, that we may wax perfect and strong men in Christ, and to be thankful to God again for his mercy, and to glorify his name.

True miracles draw to Christ.

The effect and force of our good deeds.

CONTRARIWISE the miracles of antichrist are done to pull thee from the word of God, and from believing his promises, and from Christ, and to put thy trust in a man, or a ceremony wherein God's word is not. As soon as God's word

False miracles drive from Christ.

is believed, the faith spread abroad, then cease the miracles of God. But the miracles of antichrist, because they are wrought by the devil, to quench the faith, grow daily more and more: neither shall cease until the world's end among them that believe not God's word and promises. Seest thou not how God loosed and sent forth all the devils in the old world among the heathen or Gentiles? and how the devils wrought miracles and spake to them in every image? even so shall the devil work falsehood by one craft or another, until the world's end among them that believe not God's word. For the judgment and damnation of him that hath no lust to hear the truth, is to hear lies, and to be stablished and grounded therein through false miracles; and he that will not see, is worthy to be blind, and he that biddeth the Spirit of God go from him, is worthy to be without him.

Paul, Peter, and all true apostles preached Christ only. And the miracles did but confirm and stablish their preaching, and those everlasting promises and eternal testament that God had made between man and him in Christ's blood; and the miracles did testify also that they were true servants of Christ. Paul preached not himself, he taught not any man to trust in him or his holiness, or in Peter or in any ceremony, but in the promises which God hath sworn only; yea, he mightily resisteth all such false doctrine both to the Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, and everywhere. If this be true (as it is true and nothing more true,) that if Paul had preached himself, or taught any man to believe in his holiness or prayer, or in any thing, save in the promises that God hath made and sworn to give us for Christ's sake, he had been a false prophet: why am not I also a false prophet, if I teach thee to trust in Paul or in his holiness or prayer, or in any thing save in God's word, as Paul did?

He that teacheth to trust in a saint is a false prophet.

If Paul were here and loved me, (as he loved them of his time of whom he was sent, and to whom he was a servant to preach Christ,) what good could he do for me or wish

What he should pray that prayeth for his neighbour.

me, but preach Christ and pray to God for me, to open mine heart, to give me his Spirit, and to bring me unto the full knowledge of Christ: unto which port or haven, when I am once come, I am as safe as Paul, fellow with Paul, joint heir with Paul of all the promises of God, and God's truth heareth my prayer as well as Paul's. I also now could not but love Paul and wish him good, and pray for him, that God would strengthen him in all his temptations and give him victory, as he would do for me. Nevertheless there are many weak and young consciences always in the congregation, which they that have the office to preach, ought to teach, and not to deceive them.

The weak should be taught and not deceived.

What prayers pray our clergy for us, which stop us and exclude us from Christ, and seek all the means possible to keep us from knowledge of Christ! They compel us to hire friars, monks, nuns, canons, and priests, and to buy their abominable merits, and to hire the saints that are dead to pray for us, (for the very saints have they made hirelings also:) because that their offerings come to their profit. What pray all those? that we might come to the knowledge of Christ, as the apostles did? Nay verily. For it is a plain case, that all they which enforce to keep us from Christ, pray not that we might come to the knowledge of Christ. And as for the saints, (whose prayer was, when they were alive, that we might be grounded, established and strengthened in Christ only) if it were of God that we should thiswise worship them contrary unto their own doctrine, I dare be bold to affirm, that by the means of their prayers we should have been brought long ago unto the knowledge of God and Christ again, though that these beasts had done their worst to let it. Let us therefore set our hearts at rest in Christ and in God's promises, for so I think it best; and let us take the saints for an ensample only, and let us do as they both taught and did.

The spiritualty pray not that we might come to the knowledge of Christ.

The saints are but an example.

Let us set God's promises before our eyes, and desire him for his mercy and for Christ's sake to fulfil them. And he is as true as ever he was, and will do it, as well

as ever he did, for to us are the promises made as well as to them.

Offerings cause of the miracles.

Moreover, the end of God's miracles is good; the end to these miracles are evil. For the offerings which are the cause of the miracles do but minister and maintain vice, sin, and all abomination, and are given to them that have too much; so that for very abundance they foam out their own shame, and corrupt the whole world with the stench of their filthiness.

Thereto whatsoever is not of faith is sin. (Rom. xiv.) Faith cometh by hearing God's word. (Rom. x.) When now thou fastest or doest any thing in the worship of any saint, believing to come to the favour of God, or to be saved thereby if thou have God's word, then is it true faith and shall save thee. If thou have not God's word, then is it a false faith, superstitiousness and idolatry, and damnable sin.

Also in the collects of the saints, with which we pray God to save us through the merits or deservings of the saints, (which saints yet were not saved by their own deservings themselves) we say, *per Christum dominum nostrum;* that is, for Christ our Lord's sake. We say, Save us good Lord, through the saints' merits for Christ's sake. How can he save us through the saints' merits for Christ's sake and for his deserving merits and love? Take an ensample. A gentleman saith unto me, I will do the uttermost of my power for thee, for the love which I owe unto thy father. Though thou hast never done me pleasure, yet I love thy father well: thy father is my friend, and hath deserved that I do all that I can for thee, &c. Here is a testament and a promise made unto me in the love of my father only. If I come to the said gentleman in the name of one of his servants which I never saw, never spake with, neither have any acquaintance at all with, and say: Sir, I pray you be good master unto me in such a cause. I have not deserved that he should so do. Nevertheless I pray you do it for such a servant's sake: yea, I pray you

for the love that you owe to my father, do that for me for such a servant's sake. If I thiswise made my petition, would not men think that I came late out of St. Patrick's purgatory, and had left my wits behind me? This do we. For the Testament and promises are all made unto us in Christ. And we desire God to fulfil his promises for the saints' sake: yea, that he will for Christ's sake, do it for the saints' sake.

God the Father fulfileth his promises to us for Christ's sake, and not for the merits of saints as the papists taught.

They have also martyrs which never preached God's word, neither died therefore: but for privileges and liberties which they falsely purchased contrary unto God's ordinances. Yea, and such saints, though they be dead, yet rob now as fast as ever they did, neither are less covetous now than when they were alive. I doubt not but that they will make a saint of my lord cardinal, after the death of us that be alive, and know his juggling and crafty conveyance, and will shrine him gloriously, for his mightily defending of the right of the holy church, except we be diligent to leave a commemoration of that Nimrod behind us.

All such martyrs are the pope's martyrs, and not God's. For martyr signifieth a witness bearer: now is he not God's witness that testifieth not his word.

The reasons wherewith they prove their doctrine are but fleshly: and as Paul calleth them, Enticing words of man's wisdom; that is to wit, sophistry and brawling arguments of men with corrupt minds and destitute of the truth, whose God is their belly, unto which idol whosoever offereth not, the same is an heretic, and worthy to be burnt.

The reasons which they make for the worshipping of saints are solved.

The saint was great with God when he was alive, as it appeareth by the miracles which God shewed for him; he must therefore be great now, say they. This reason appeareth wisdom, but it is very foolishness with God. For the miracle was not shewed that thou should put thy trust in the saint, but in the word which the saint preached; which word, if thou believest, would save thee, as God hath promised and sworn, and would make thee also great with God, as it did the saint.

If a man have a matter with a great man, or a king, he must go first unto one of his mean servants, and then higher

and higher till he come at the king. This enticing argument is but a blind reason of man's wit. It is not like in the kingdom of the world, and in the kingdom of God and Christ.

It is not like with kings and God.

With kings, for the most part, we have none acquaintance, neither promise. They be also most commonly merciless. Moreover if they promise, they are yet men, as unconstant as are other people, and as untrue. But with God, if we have belief, we are accounted, and have an open way in unto him by the door Christ, which is never shut, but through unbelief; neither is there any porter to keep any man out. By him, saith Paul, (Eph. ii.) that is to say, by Christ, we have an open way in unto the Father. So are ye now no more strangers and foreigners, (saith he) but citizens with the saints, and of the household of God. God hath also made us promises, and hath sworn: yea, hath made a testament or a covenant, and hath bound himself, and hath sealed his obligation with Christ's blood, and confirmed it with miracles. He is also merciful and kind, and complaineth that we will not come unto him. He is mighty and able to perform that he promiseth. He is true, and cannot be but true, as he cannot be but God. Therefore is it not like with the king and God.

We be sinners, say they, God will not hear us. Behold how they flee from God as from a tyrant merciless. Whom a man counteth most merciful, unto him he soonest flieth. But these teachers dare not come at God. Why? for they are the children of Cain. If the saints love whom God hateth, then God and his saints are divided. When thou prayest to the saints, how do they know, except that God whom thou countest merciless, tell them? If God be so cruel and so hateth thee, it is not likely that he will tell the saints that thou prayest unto them.

Christ is no sinner.

When they say we be sinners: I answer, that Christ is no sinner, save a satisfaction, and an offering for sin. Take Christ from the saints and what are they? what is Paul without Christ? Is he any thing save a blasphemer,

a persecutor, a murderer, and a shedder of Christian blood? But as soon as he came to Christ he was no more a sinner, but a minister of righteousness: he went not to Rome to take penance upon him, but went and preached unto his brethren the same mercy, which he had received free, without doing penance or hiring of saints, or of monks, or friars. Moreover, if it be God's word that thou should put thy trust in the saints' merits or prayers, then be bold. For God's word shall defend thee and save thee. If it be but thine own reason, then fear. For God commandeth by Moses, (Deut. xii.) saying: What I command you, that observe and do, and put nothing to, nor take ought therefrom: yea, and Moses warneth straightly in an hundred places, that we do that only which God commandeth, and which seemeth good and righteous in his sight, and not in our own sight. For nothing bringeth the wrath of God so soon and so sore on a man, as the idolatry of his own imagination.

Nothing bringeth a man sooner to confusion than the idolatry of his own imagination.

Last of all, these arguments are contrary to the arguments of Christ and of his apostles. Christ disputeth (Luke xi.) saying, If the son ask the father bread, will he give him a stone? or if he ask him fish, will he give him a serpent? and so forth. If ye then (saith he,) which are evil can give good gifts to your children, how much rather shall your heavenly Father give a good spirit unto them that ask him? And a little before in the same chapter he saith, If a man came never so out of season to his neighbour to borrow bread, even when he is in his chamber, and the door shut, and all his servants with him; nevertheless, yet if he continue knocking and praying, he will rise and give him as much as he needeth, though not for love, yet to be rid of him, that he may have rest. As who should say, What will God do if a man pray him, seeing that prayer overcometh an evil man? Ask, therefore, (saith he,) and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you. And (Luke xviii.) he putteth forth the parable, or similitude,

of the wicked judge, which was overcome with the importunate prayer of the widow. And concludeth, saying, Hear what the wicked judge did. And shall not God avenge his elect, which cry unto him night and day? Whether, therefore, we complain of the intolerable oppression and persecution that we suffer, or of the flesh that cumbreth and resisteth the Spirit, God is merciful to hear us, and to help us. Seest thou not also how Christ cureth many, and casteth out devils out of many, unspoken to, how shall he not help, if he be desired and spoken to?

When the old Pharisees (whose nature is to drive sinners from Christ,) asked Christ why he did eat with publicans and sinners? Christ answered, That the whole needed not the physician, but the sick; that is, he came to have conversation with sinners to heal them. He was a gift given unto sinners, and a treasure to pay their debts. And Christ sent the complaining and disdaining Pharisees to the prophet Hosea, saying, Go and learn what this meaneth; I desire, or require mercy, and not sacrifice. As who should say, Ye Pharisees love sacrifice and offering for to feed that god your bellies withal, but God commandeth to be merciful. Sinners are ever captives, and a prey to the Pharisees and hypocrites for to offer unto their bellies, and to buy merits, pardons, and forgiveness of sins of them. And therefore fear they them away from Christ, with arguments of their belly-wisdom. For he that receiveth forgiveness free of Christ, will buy no forgiveness of them. I came (saith Christ,) to call, not the righteous, but the sinners unto repentance. The Pharisees are righteous, and therefore have no part with Christ, neither need they; for they are gods themselves and saviours. But sinners that repent pertain to Christ. If we repent, Christ hath made satisfaction for us already.

Christ is a gift given to sinners.

God loveth mercy. Hypocrites love offerings.

God so loved the world that he gave his only Son, that none that believe on him should perish, but should have everlasting life. For God sent not his Son into the world

to condemn the world, but that the world through him might be saved. He that believeth on him shall not be damned; but he that believeth not is damned already. (John iii.)

Paul (Rom. v.) saith, Because we are justified through faith, we are at peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ; that is, because that God, which cannot lie, hath promised and sworn to be merciful unto us, and to forgive us for Christ's sake, we believe, and are at peace in our consciences; we run not hither and thither for pardon; we trust not in this friar nor that monk, neither in anything, save in the word of God only. As a child, when his father threateneth him for his fault, hath never rest till he hear the word of mercy and forgiveness of his father's mouth again; but as soon as he heareth his father say, Go thy way, do me no more so, I forgive thee this fault: then is his heart at rest—then is he at peace,—then runneth he to no man to make intercession for him. Neither, though there come any false merchant, saying, What wilt thou give me, and I will obtain pardon of thy father for thee? will he suffer himself to be beguiled. No, he will not buy of a wily fox for that which his father hath given him freely.

We are at peace in our consciences when we believe constantly our sins are remitted through Jesus Christ.

It followeth, God setteth out his love that he hath to us; that is, he maketh it appear, that men may perceive love if they be not more than stock blind. Inasmuch (saith Paul,) as while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Much more now, (saith he,) seeing we are justified by his blood, shall we be preserved from wrath through him: for if when we were enemies we were reconciled to God, by the death of his Son; much more, seeing we are reconciled, we shall be preserved by his life. As who should say, If God loved us when we knew him not, much more loveth he us now we know him. If he were merciful to us while we hated his law, how much more merciful will he be now, seeing we love it, and desire strength to fulfil it. And in the viiith he argueth, If God spared not his

own Son, but gave him for us all, how shall he not with him give us all things also?

Christ prayeth (John xvii.) not for the apostles only, but also for as many as should believe through their preaching, and was heard; whatsoever we ask in his name the Father giveth us. (John xvi.) Christ is also as merciful as the saints. Why go we not straightway unto him? Verily, because we feel not the mercy of God, neither believe his truth. God will at the leastway (say they,) hear us the sooner for the saints' sake. Then loveth he the saints better than Christ, and his own truth. Heareth he us for the saints' sake? so heareth he us not for his mercy: for merits and mercy cannot stand together.

Why we come not to Christ.

Finally: If thou put any trust in thine own deeds, or in the deeds of any other man, of any saint, then minishest thou the truth, mercy, and goodness of God. For if God look unto thy works, or unto the works of any other man, or goodness of the saint, then doth he not all things of pure mercy and of his goodness, and for the truth's sake, which he hath sworn in Christ. Now saith Paul, (Tit. iii.) not of the righteous deeds which we did, but of his mercy saved he us.

Our blind disputers will say, If our good deeds justify us not; if God look not on our good deeds, neither regard them, nor love us the better for them, what need we to do good deeds? I answer, God looketh on our good deeds, and loveth them; yet loveth us not for their sakes. God loveth us first in Christ of his goodness and mercy, and poureth his Spirit into us, and giveth us power to do good deeds. And because he loveth us, he loveth our good deeds; yea, because he loveth us, he forgiveth us our evil deeds, which we do of frailty, and not of purpose or for the nonce. Our good deeds do but testify only that we are justified and beloved. For except we were beloved, and had God's Spirit, we could neither do, nor yet consent unto any good deed. Antichrist turneth the roots of the trees upward. He maketh the goodness of God the

God looketh on our good deeds.

Antichrist turneth the roots of the trees upward.

branches, and our goodness the roots. We must be first good after antichrist's doctrine, and move God, and compel him to be good again for our goodness' sake: so must God's goodness spring out of our goodness. Nay, verily, God's goodness is the root of all goodness; and our goodness, if we have any, springeth out of his goodness.

OF PRAYER.

OF prayer and good deeds, and of the order of love, or charity, I have abundantly written in my book of the Justifying of Faith. Neverthelater, that thou mayest see what the prayers and good works of our monks and friars, and of other ghostly people, are worth, I will speak a word or two, and make an end. Paul saith, (Gal. iii.) All ye are the sons of God through faith in Jesus Christ; for all ye that are baptized have put Christ on you; that is, ye are become Christ himself. There is no Jew, (saith he,) neither Greek, neither bond nor free, neither man nor woman, but ye are all one thing in Christ Jesus. In Christ there is neither French nor English; but the Frenchman is the Englishman's ownself, and the English the Frenchman's ownself. In Christ there is neither father nor son, neither master nor servant, neither husband nor wife, neither king nor subject; but the father is the son's self, and the son the father's ownself; and the king is the subject's ownself, and the subject is the king's ownself; and so forth. I am thou thyself, and thou art I myself, and can be no nearer of kin. We are all the sons of God, all Christ's servants bought with his blood; and every man to other, Christ his ownself. And (Col. iii.) Ye have put on the new man, which is renewed in the knowledge of God, after the image of him that made him (that is to say, Christ;) where is (saith he,) neither Greek nor Jew, cir-

In Christ we are one as good as another, equally beloved, and indifferently heard.

cumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarous or Scythian, bond or free; but Christ is all in all things. I love thee not now because thou art my father, and hast done so much for me; or my mother, and hast borne me, and given me suck of thy breasts, (for so do Jews and Saracens,) but because of the great love that Christ hath shewed me. I serve thee, not because thou art my master, or my king, for hope of reward, or fear of pain, but for the love of Christ; for the children of faith are under no law (as thou seest in the Epistles to the Romans, to the Galatians, in the first to Timothy,) but are free. The Spirit of Christ hath written the lively law of love in their hearts, which driveth them to work of their own accord freely and willingly, for the great love's sake only which they see in Christ, and therefore need they no law to compel them. Christ is all in all things to them that believe, and the cause of all love. Paul saith (Eph. vi.) Servants, obey unto your carnal or fleshly masters, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your hearts as unto Christ: not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart, even as though ye served the Lord, and not men. And remember, that whatsoever good thing any man doth, that shall he receive again of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. Christ thus is all in all things, and cause of all to a Christian man. And Christ saith, (Matt. xxv.) Inasmuch as ye have done it to any of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it to me. And inasmuch as ye have not done it unto one of the least of these, ye have not done it to me. Here seest thou that we are Christ's brethren, and even Christ himself; and whatsoever we do one to another, that do we to Christ. If we be in Christ, we work for no worldly purpose, but of love. As Paul saith (2 Cor. v.) The love of Christ compelleth us: (as who should say, we work not of a fleshly purpose:) for (saith he,) we know henceforth no man fleshly; no, though we once knew Christ fleshly, we do so now no more. We are otherwise minded

Christ is all to a Christian man.

The children of faith work of love, and need no law to compel them.

We are all Christ's servants, and serve Christ.

The contempt or love we shew one to another, the same shew we to Christ.

than when Peter drew his sword to fight with Christ. We are now ready to suffer with Christ, and to lose life and all for our very enemies to bring them unto Christ. If we be in Christ, we are minded like unto Christ, which knew nothing fleshly, or after the will of the flesh, as thou seest Matt. xii. when one said to him, Lo, thy mother and thy brethren stand without, desiring to speak with thee. He answered, Who is my mother, and who are my brethren? And stretched his hand over his disciples, saying, See, my mother and my brethren: for whosoever doth the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, my sister, and my mother. He knew not his mother in that she bare him, but in that she did the will of his Father in heaven. So now, as God the Father's will and commandment is all to Christ, even so Christ is all to a Christian man.

Christ knoweth nothing worldly, no not his very mother.

Christ is the cause why I love thee, why I am ready to do the uttermost of my power for thee, and why I pray for thee. And as long as the cause abideth, so long lasteth the effect: even as it is always day, so long as the sun shineth. Do therefore the worst thou canst unto me, take away my goods, take away my good name: yet as long as Christ remaineth in my heart, so long I love thee not a whit the less, and so long art thou as dear unto me as mine own soul, and so long am I ready to do thee good for thine evil, and so long I pray for thee with all my heart: for Christ desireth it of me, and hath deserved it of me. Thine unkindness compared unto his kindness is nothing at all; yea, it is swallowed up as a little smoke of a mighty wind, and is no more seen or thought upon. Moreover that evil which thou didst to me, I receive not of thy hand, but of the hand of God, and as God's scourge to teach me patience, and to nurture me. And therefore have no cause to be angry with thee, more than the child hath to be angry with his father's rod: or a sick man with a sour or bitter medicine that healeth him, or a prisoner with his fetters, or he that is punished lawfully

As long as Christ abideth, so long a Christian man loveth.

for thee, to be thy reward, and yet wot not what prayer meaneth. Prayer is the longing for God's promises, which promises, as they preach them not, so long they not for them, nor wish them unto any man. Their longing is to fill their paunch whom they serve, and not Christ: and through sweet preaching and flattering words deceive the hearts of the simple and unlearned. (Rom. xvi.)

Christ is the whole cause why God loveth us.

Finally, as Christ is the whole cause why we do all thing for our neighbour, even so is he the cause why God doth all thing for us, why he receiveth us into his holy testament, and maketh us heirs of all his promises, and poureth his Spirit into us, and maketh us his sons, and fashioneth us like unto Christ, and maketh us such as he would have us to be. The assurance that we are the sons, beloved, and heirs with Christ, and have God's Spirit in us, is the consent of our hearts unto the law of God. Which law is all perfection, and the mark whereat all we ought to shoot. And he that hitteth that mark, so that he fulfilleth the law with all his heart, soul, and might, and with full love and lust, without all let or resistance, is pure gold, and needeth not to be put any more in the fire; he is straight and right, and needeth to be no more shaven: he is full fashioned like Christ, and can have no more added unto him. Nevertheless there is none so perfect in this life, that findeth not let and resistance by the reason of original sin, or birth poison that remaineth in him, as thou mayest see in the lives of all the saints throughout all the Scripture, and in Paul, (Rom. vii.) The will is present, (saith he) but I find no means to perform that which is good. I do not that good thing which I would: but that evil do I which I would not. I find by the law that when I would do good, evil is present with me. I delight in the law, as concerning the inner man, but I find another law in my members rebelling against the law of my mind, and subduing me unto the law of sin. Which law of sin is nothing but a corrupt and a poisoned nature which breaketh into evil lusts, and from evil lusts into wicked deeds, and

How to know that we are God's sons. The law is the mark: yea, and the touchstone wherewith we ought to try ourselves, and see how far forth we are purged.

Our birth poison that remaineth in us resisteth the Spirit.

must be purged with the true purgatory of the cross of Christ: that is, thou must hate it with all thine heart, and desire God to take it from thee. And then whatsoever cross God putteth on thy back, bear it patiently, whether it be poverty, sickness, or persecution, or whatsoever it be, and take it for the right purgatory, and think that God hath nailed thee fast to it, to purge thee thereby. For he that loveth not the law and hateth his sin, and hath not professed in his heart to fight against it, and mourneth not to God to take it away and to purge him of it, the same hath no part with Christ. If thou love the law and findest that thou hast yet sin hanging on thee, whereof thou sorrowest to be delivered and purged: as for an ensample, thou hast a covetous mind, and mistrustest God, and therefore art moved to beguile thy neighbour, and art unto him merciless, not caring whether he sink or swim, so thou mayest win by him or get from him that he hath: then get thee to the observant which is so purged from that sin, that he will not once handle a penny, and with that wile doth the subtle fox make the goose come flying into his hole, ready prepared for his mouth without his labour or sweat; and buy of his merits, which he hath in store, and give thy money not into his holy hands, but to offer him that he hath hired either with part of his prayers or part of his prey, to take the sin upon him and to handle his money for him. In like manner, if any person that is under obedience unto God's ordinance (whether it be son, or daughter, servant, wife or subject) consent unto the ordinance, and yet find contrary motions: let him go also to them that have professed an obedience of their own making, and buy part of their merits. If thy wife give thee nine words for three, go to the charterhouse and buy of their silence: and so if the abstaining of the observant from handling money, heal thine heart from desiring money, and the obedience of them that will obey nothing but their own ordinance, heal thy disobedience to God's ordinance, and the silence of the charterhouse monk tame thy wife's

The right cross of Christ.

He that loveth not the law and hateth sin, hath no part with Christ.

How to try the doctrine of our spiritualty.

If the prayers and merits of our religious men purge out lusts, then are they of value, and else not.

tongue, then believe that their prayers shall deliver thy soul from the pains of that terrible and fearful purgatory which they have feigned to purge thy purse withal.

The spiritualty increaseth daily. More prelates, more priests, more monks, friars, canons, nuns, and more heretics; I would say heremites, with like draff. Set before thee the increase of St. Francis's disciples in so few years. Reckon how many thousands, yea, how many twenty thousands, not disciples only; but whose cloisters are sprung out of hell of them in so little space. Pattering of prayers encreaseth daily. Their service, as they call it, waxeth longer and longer, and the labour of their lips greater; new saints, new service, new feasts, and new holidays. What take all these away? Sin? Nay. For we see the contrary by experience, and that sin groweth as they grow. But they take away first God's word with faith, hope, peace, unity, love and concord; then house and land, rent and fee, tower and town, goods and cattle, and the very meat out of men's mouths. All these live by purgatory. When other weep for their friends, they sing merrily; when other loose their friends, they get friends. The pope with all his pardons is grounded on purgatory. Priests, monks, canons, friars, with all other swarms of hypocrites, do but empty purgatory, and fill hell. Every mass, say they, delivereth one soul out of purgatory. If that were true, yea, if ten masses were enough for one soul, yet were the parish priests and curates of every parish sufficient to scour purgatory. All the other costly work of men might be well spared.

What the spiritualty taketh away with their prayers.

When other weep, they sing, and when other lose, they win.

All is of purgatory. These physicians give none other medicines save purgations only.

THE FOUR SENSES OF THE SCRIPTURE.

THEY divide the Scripture into four senses, the literal, tropological, allegorical, and anagogical. The literal sense is become nothing at all. For the pope hath taken it clean away, and hath made it his possession. He hath partly locked it up with the false and counterfeited keys of his traditions, ceremonies, and feigned lies. And partly driveth men from it with violence of sword. For no man dare abide by the literal sense of the text, but under a protestation, if it shall please the pope. The chopological sense pertaineth to good manners (say they) and teacheth what we ought to do. The allegory is appropriate to faith; and the anagogical to hope and things above. Tropological and anagogical are terms of their own feigning, and altogether unnecessary. For they are but allegories both two of them, and this word allegory comprehendeth them both, and is enough. For tropological is but an allegory of manners, and anagogical, an allegory of hope. And allegory is as much to say as strange speaking, or borrowed speech. As when we say of a wanton child, this sheep hath magots in his tail, he must be anointed with birchen salve; which speech I borrow of the shepherds.

Allegory, what it signifieth.

Thou shalt understand, therefore, that the Scripture hath but one sense, which is the literal sense. And that literal sense is the root and ground of all, and the anchor that never faileth, whereunto if thou cleave thou canst never err, or go out of the way. And if thou leave the literal sense, thou canst not but go out of the way. Neverthelater, the Scripture useth proverbs, similitudes, riddles, or allegories, as all other speeches do; but that which the proverb, similitude, riddle, or allegory signifieth is ever the literal sense which thou must seek out diligently. As in

The Scripture hath but one sense.

the English, we borrow words and sentences of one thing, and apply them unto another, and give them new significations. We say, Let the sea rise as high as he will, yet hath God appointed how far he shall go: meaning that the tyrants shall not do what they would, but that only which God hath appointed them to do. Look ere thou leap: whose literal sense is, Do nothing suddenly, or without avisement. Cut not the bough that thou standest upon: whose literal sense is, Oppress not the commons; and is borrowed of hewers. When a thing speedeth not well, we borrow speech, and say, The bishop hath blessed it, because that nothing speedeth well that they meddle with withal. If the porridge be burned too, or the meat over roasted, we say, the bishop hath put his foot in the pot, or the bishop hath played the cook, because the bishops burn whom they lust, and whomsoever displeaseth them. He is a pontifical fellow, that is, proud and stately. He is popish, that is, superstitious and faithless. It is a pastime for a prelate. It is a pleasure for a pope. He would be free, and yet will not have head shaven. He would that no man should smite him, and yet hath not the pope's mark. And of him is betrayed, and wotteth not how, we say, he hath been at shrift. She is master parson's sister's daughter; he is the bishop's sister's son; he hath a cardinal to his uncle; she is a spiritual whore; it is the gentlewoman of the parsonage; he gave me a *Kyrie eleyson*. And of her that answereth her husband six words for one, we say, She is a sister of the charter-house: as who should say, She thinketh that she is not bound to keep silence, their silence shall be a satisfaction for her. And of him that will not be saved by Christ's merits, but by the works of his own imagination, we say it is a holy workman. Thus borrow we, and feign new speech in every tongue. All fables, prophecies, and riddles, are allegories; as Esop's fables, and Merlin's prophecies, and the interpretation of them are the literal sense.

Borrowed speech.

So in like manner the Scripture borroweth words and

sentences of all manner [of] things, and maketh proverbs and similitudes or allegories. As Christ saith, (Luke iv.) Physician, heal thyself: whose interpretation is, do that at home, which thou dost in strange places; and that is the literal sense. So when I say, Christ is a lamb; I mean not a lamb that beareth wool, but a meek and a patient Lamb which is beaten for other men's faults. Christ is a vine, not that beareth grapes; but out of whose root the branches that believe suck the Spirit of life, and mercy, and grace, and power to be the sons of God, and to do his will. The similitudes of the gospel are allegories borrowed of worldly matters to express spiritual things. The Apocalypse or Revelations of John are allegories whose literal sense is hard to find in many places.

The right use of allegories.

Beyond all this, when we have found out the literal sense of the Scripture, by the process of the text, or by a like text of another place, then go we, and as the Scripture borroweth similitudes of worldly things, even so we again borrow similitudes or allegories of the Scripture, and apply them to our purposes; which allegories are no sense of the Scripture, but free things besides the Scripture, and altogether in the liberty of the Spirit. Which allegories I may not make at all the wild adventures; but must keep me within the compass of the faith, and ever apply mine allegory to Christ, and unto the faith. Take an ensample: thou hast the story of Peter, how he smote off Malchus's ear, and how Christ healed it again. There hast thou in the plain text great learning, great fruit, and great edifying, which I pass over because of tediousness. Then come I, when I preach of the law and the gospel, and borrow this ensample, to express the nature of the law, and of the gospel, and to paint it unto thee before thine eyes. And of Peter and his sword make I the law, and of Christ the gospel; saying, As Peter's sword cutteth off the ear, so doth the law. The law damneth, the law killeth, and mangleth the conscience.

Allegories are no sense of Scripture.

There is no ear so righteous that can abide the hearing

of the law. There is no deed so good but that the law damneth it. But Christ, that is to say the gospel, the promises and testament that God hath made in Christ, healeth the ear and conscience which the law hath hurt. The gospel is life, mercy and forgiveness freely, and altogether an healing plaister. And as Peter doth but hurt and make a wound where was none before, even so doth the law. For when we think that we are holy and righteous, and full of good deeds; if the law be preached aright, our righteousness and good deeds vanish away, as smoke in the wind, and we are left damnable sinners only. And as thou seest how that Christ healeth not till Peter had wounded, and as an healing plaister helpeth not, till the corrosive hath troubled the wound; even so the gospel helpeth not, but when the law hath wounded the conscience, and brought the sinner into the knowledge of his sin. This allegory proveth nothing, neither can do. For it is not the Scripture, but an ensample or a similitude borrowed of the Scripture to declare a text, or a conclusion of the Scripture more expressly, and to root it and grave it in the heart. For a similitude, or an ensample, doth print a thing much deeper in the wits of a man, than doth a plain speaking, and leaving behind him as it were a sting to prick him forward, and to awake him withal. Moreover if I could not prove with an open text that which the allegory doth express, then were the allegory a thing to be jested at, and of no greater value than a tale of Robinhood. This allegory as touching his first part is proved by Paul in the iiird chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, where he saith, The law causeth wrath. And in the viith chapter to the Romans, When the law or commandment came, sin revived, and I became dead. And in the iind Epistle to the Corinthians, in the third chapter, the law is called the minister of death and damnation, &c. And as concerning the second part, Paul saith to the Romans in the vth chapter, In that we are justified by faith we are at peace with God. And in the

Allegories prove nothing.

If thou cannot prove the allegory with an open text then is it false doctrine.

iid Epistle to the Corinthians in the third, The gospel is called the ministration of justifying and of the Spirit. And (Gal. iv.) The Spirit cometh by preaching of the faith &c. Thus doth the literal sense prove the allegory, and bear it, as the foundation beareth the house. And because that allegories prove nothing, therefore are they to be used soberly and seldom, and only where the text offereth thee an allegory.

The literal sense proveth the allegory.

And of this manner (as I above have done) doth Paul borrow a similitude, a figure or allegory of Genesis to express the nature of the law, and of the gospel: and by Hagar and her son, declareth the property of the law, and of her bond children, which will be justified by deeds; and by Sarah and her son declareth the property of the gospel, and of her free children which are justified by faith; and how the children of the law which believe in their works persecute the children of the gospel which believe in the mercy and truth of God, and in the Testament of his son Jesus our Lord. And likewise do we borrow likenesses or allegories of the Scripture, as of Pharaoh and Herod, and of the scribes and pharisees, to express our miserable captivity and persecution under antichrist the pope.

They that justify themselves by their works, are the bond children of the law.

The greatest cause of which captivity and the decay of the faith, and this blindness wherein we now are, sprang first of allegories. For Origen, and the doctors of his time, drew all the Scripture unto allegories. Whose ensample they that came after followed so long, till they at last forgot the order and process of the text, supposing that the Scripture served but to feign allegories upon. Insomuch that twenty doctors expound one text twenty ways, as children make descant upon plain song. Then came our sophisters with their anagogical and chopological sense, and with an antitheme of half an inch, out of which some of them draw a thread of nine days long. Yea, thou shalt find enough that will preach Christ, and prove whatsoever point of the faith that thou wilt, as well out of a fable of Ovid, or any other poet, as out of St. John's Gospel or

The faith was lost through allegories.

Chopological sophisters.

Poetry is as good divinity as the Scripture to our schoolmen.

Paul's Epistles. Yea they are come unto such blindness, that they not only say the literal sense profiteth not, but also that it is hurtful and noisome and killeth the soul. Which damnable doctrine they prove by a text of Paul, (2 Cor iii.) where he saith, The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life. Lo, say they, the literal sense killeth and the spiritual sense giveth life. We must therefore, say they, seek out some chopological sense.

The literal sense killeth, say sophisters.

Here learn what sophistry is, and how blind they are, that thou mayest abhor them, and spue them out of thy stomach for ever. Paul by the letter meaneth Moses's law, which the process of the text following declareth more bright than the sun. But it is not their guise to look on the order of any text; but as they find it in their doctors, so allege they it, and so understand it. Paul maketh a comparison between the law and the gospel, and calleth the law the letter, because it was but letters graven in two tables of cold stone. For the law doth but kill and damn the conscience, as long as there is no lust in the heart to do that which the law commandeth. Contrariwise, he calleth the gospel the administration of the Spirit, and of righteousness, or justifying. For when Christ is preached, and the promises which God hath made in Christ are believed, the Spirit entereth the heart, and looseth the heart, and giveth lust to do the law, and maketh the law a lively thing in the heart. Now as soon as the heart lusteth to do the law, then are we righteous before God, and our sins forgiven. Nevertheless the law of the letter graved in stone, and not in their hearts, was so glorious, and Moses's face shone so bright, that the children of Israel could not behold his face for brightness. It was also given in thunder and lightning and terrible signs; so that they, for fear, came to Moses, and desired him that he would speak to them, and let God speak no more; Lest we die (said they) if we hear him any more: as thou mayest see Exod. xx. Whereupon Paul maketh his comparison, saying: If the ministration of death

The letter killeth, is expounded.

To love the law is righteousness.

through the letters figured in stones was glorious, so that the children of Israel could not behold the face of Moses for the glory of his countenance; why shall not the administration of the Spirit be glorious? And again: If the administration of damnation be glorious, much more shall the administration of righteousness exceed in glory: that is, if the law that killeth sinners, and helpeth them not, be glorious; then the gospel which pardoneth sinners, and giveth them power to be the sons of God, and to overcome sin, is much more glorious. And the text that goeth before is as clear.

For the holy apostle Paul saith, Ye Corinthians are our epistle, which is understood and read of all men, in that ye are known how that ye are the epistle of Christ ministered by us, and written, not with ink, (as Moses's law) but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, (as the ten commandments) but in the fleshy tables of the heart: as who should say, We write not a dead law with ink, and in parchment, nor grave that which damned you in tables of stone; but preach you that which bringeth the Spirit of life unto your breasts, which Spirit writeth and graveth the law of love in your hearts, and giveth you lust to do the will of God. And furthermore, saith he, Our ableness cometh of God, which hath made us able to minister the New Testament, not of the letter, (that is to say, not of the law) but of the Spirit: for the letter (that is to say, the law) killeth; but the Spirit giveth life; (that is to say, the Spirit of God) which entereth your hearts when ye believe the glad tidings that are preached you in Christ; quickeneth your hearts, and giveth you life and lust, and maketh you to do of love and of your own accord without compulsion, that which the law compelled you to do, and damned you, because ye could not do with love and lust, and naturally. Thus seest thou that the letter signifieth not the literal sense, and the spirit the spiritual sense. And Rom. ii. Paul useth this term *Litera*, for the law. And Rom. vii. where he setteth it so plain, that if the

great wrath of God had not blinded them, they could never have stumbled at it.

The literal sense is spiritual.

God is a Spirit, and all his words are spiritual. His literal sense is spiritual, and all his words are spiritual. When thou readest (Matt. i.) She shall bear a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he shall save his people from their sins: this literal sense is spiritual and everlasting life unto as many as believe it. And the literal sense of these words, (Matt. v.) Blessed are the merciful, for they shall have mercy; are spiritual and life. Whereby they that are merciful may of right, by the truth and promise of God, challenge mercy. And like is it of these words, (Matt. vi.) If you forgive other men their sins, your heavenly Father shall forgive you yours. And so is it of all the promises of God. Finally, all God's words are spiritual, if thou have eyes of God to see the right meaning of the text, and whereunto the Scripture pertaineth, and the final end and cause thereof.

What is to be sought in the Scripture and in the literal sense.

All the Scripture is either the promises and testament of God in Christ, and stories pertaining thereunto to strength thy faith; either the law, and stories pertaining thereto, to fear thee from evil doing. There is no story nor gest, seem it never so simple or so vile unto the world, but that thou shalt find therein spirit and life and edifying in the literal sense. For it is God's Scripture, written for thy learning and comfort. There is no clout or rag there that hath not precious relics wrapt therein of faith, hope, patience and long suffering, and of the truth of God, and also of his righteousness. Set before thee the story of Reuben which defiled his father's bed. Mark what a cross God suffered to fall on the neck of his elect Jacob. Consider first the shame among the heathen, when as yet there was no more of the whole world within the testament of God, but he and his household. I report me to our prelates which swear by their honour, whether it were a cross or no. Seest thou not how our wicked builders rage, because they see their buildings burn, now they are tried by the fire of God's

The story of Reuben.

Swear they by their honour, then are they not ready to suffer shame for Christ's sake.

word; and how they stir up the whole world, to quench the word of God, for fear of losing their honour? then what business had he to pacify his children? look what ado he had at the defiling of his daughter Dinah. And be thou sure that the brethren there were no more furious for the defiling of their sister, than the sons here for defiling of their mother. Mark what followed Reuben, to fear other, that they shame not their fathers and mothers. He was cursed, and lost the kingdom, and also the priestdom, and his tribe or generation was ever few in number as it appeareth in the stories of the Bible.

The adultery of David with Bathsheba is an ensample not to move us to evil: but if (while we follow the way of righteousness) any chance drive us aside, that we despair not. For if we saw not such infirmities in God's elect, we, which are so weak and fall so oft, should utterly despair, and think that God had clean forsaken us. It is therefore a sure, and an undoubted conclusion, whether we be holy or unholy, we are all sinners. But the difference is, that God's sinners consent not to their sin. They consent unto the law that is both holy and righteous, and mourn to have their sin taken away. But the devil's sinners consent unto their sin, and would have the law and hell taken away, and are enemies unto the righteousness of God.

The adultery of David.

The difference between God's sinners' and the devil's.

Likewise in the homely gest of Noah, when he was drunk, and lay in his tent with his privy members open, hast thou great edifying in the literal sense! Thou seest what became of the cursed children of wicked Ham, which saw his father's privy members and jested thereof unto his brethren. Thou seest also what blessing fell on Shem and Japhet, which went backward and covered their father's members and saw them not. And thirdly thou seest what infirmity accompanieth God's elect, be they never so holy, which yet is not imputed unto them. For the faith and trust they have in God swalloweth up all their sins.

Noah.

Notwithstanding, this text offers us an apt and an handsome allegory or similitude to describe our wicked Ham,

The pope is likened to Ham.

Antichrist, the pope, which many hundred years hath done all the shame that heart can think unto the privy member of God; which is the word of promise, or the word of faith as Paul calleth it Rom. x.; and the gospel and testament of Christ, wherewith we are begotten; as thou seest 1 Pet. i. and James i. And as the cursed children of Ham grew into giants, so mighty and great that the children of Israel seemed but grasshoppers in respect of them; so the cursed sons of our Ham, the pope, his cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, and friars, are become mighty giants above all power and authority; so that the children of faith, in respect of them, are much less than grasshoppers. They heap mountain upon mountain, and will to heaven by their own strength, by a way of their own making and not by the way Christ. Neverthelater, those giants, for the wickedness and abominations which they had wrought, did God utterly destroy, part of them by the children of Lot, and part by the children of Esau, and seven nations of them by the children of Israel. So no doubt shall he destroy these for like abominations, and that shortly. For their kingdom is but the kingdom of lies and falsehood, which must needs perish at the coming of the truth of God's word, as the night vanisheth away at the presence of day. The children of Israel slew not those giants, but the power of God; God's truth and promises, as thou mayest see in Deuteronomy. So it is not we that shall destroy those giants, as thou mayest see by Paul, (2 Thes. ii.) speaking of our Ham Antichrist: Whom the Lord shall destroy (saith he) with the spirit of his mouth; that is, by the words of truth: and by the brightness of his coming; that is, by the preaching of his gospel.

They will to heaven by a way of their own making.

The use of similitudes.

AND as I have said of allegories, even so it is of worldly similitudes, which we make either when we preach, either when we expound the Scripture. The similitudes prove nothing, but are made to express more plainly that which is contained in the Scripture, and to lead thee into

the spiritual understanding of the text. As the similitude of matrimony is taken to express the marriage that is between Christ and our souls, and what exceeding mercy we have there, whereof all the Scriptures make mention. And the similitude of the members, how every one of them careth for other, is taken to make thee feel what it is to love thy neighbour as thyself. That preacher therefore that bringeth a naked similitude to prove that which is contained in no text of Scripture, nor followeth of a text, count a deceiver, a leader out of the way, and a false prophet, and beware of his philosophy and persuasions of man's wisdom, as Paul (i. Cor. ii.) saith: My words and my preaching were not with enticing words, and persuasions of man's wisdom, but in showing of the Spirit and power. That is, he preached not dreams, confirming them with similitudes; but God's word confirming it with miracles and with working of the Spirit, the which made them feel every thing in their hearts. That your faith, saith he, should not stand in the wisdom of man; but in the power of God. For the reasons and similitudes of man's wisdom make no faith, but wavering and uncertain opinions only: one draweth me this way with his argument, another that way, and of what principle thou provest black, another proveth white: and so am I ever uncertain. As if thou tell me of a thing done in a far land, and another tell me the contrary, I wot not what to believe. But faith is wrought by the power of God, that is, when God's word is preached, the Spirit entereth thine heart, and maketh thy soul feel it, and maketh thee so sure of it, that neither adversity, nor persecution, nor death, neither hell, nor the powers of hell, neither yet all the pains of hell could once prevail against thee, or move thee from the sure rock of God's word, that thou shouldst not believe that which God hath sworn.

A similitude without Scripture, is a sure token of a false prophet.

Paul preached not worldly wisdom.

Similitudes and reasons of man's wisdom make no faith, but wavering opinions only.

God's word maketh sure faith, for God cannot lie.

And Peter (2 Pet. i.) saith, We followed not deceivable fables, when we opened unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ; but with our eyes, we

Peter preached not fables and false similitudes, but the plain Scripture.

saw his majesty. And again, we have (saith he) a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto if ye take heed, as unto a light shining in a dark place, ye do well. The word of prophecy was the old Testament which beareth record unto Christ in every place, without which record the Apostles made neither similitudes nor arguments of worldly wit. Hereof seest thou, that all the allegories, similitudes, persuasions and arguments, which they bring without Scripture, to prove praying to saints, purgatory, ear confession; and that God will hear thy prayer more in one place than in another; and that it is more meritorious to eat fish, than flesh; and that to disguise thyself and put on this or that manner[of]coat is more acceptable than to go as God hath made thee; and that widowhood is better than matrimony, and virginity than widowhood; and to prove the assumption of our lady, and that she was born without original sin, yea, and with a kiss say some, are but false doctrine.

School doctrine.

Take an ensample how they prove that widowhood and virginity exceed matrimony. They bring this worldly similitude: he that taketh most pain for a man deserveth most, and to him a man is most bound; so likewise must it be with God, and so forth. Now the widow and virgin take more pain in resisting their lusts than the married wife, therefore is their state holier. First, I say, that in their own sophistry, a similitude is the worst and feeblest argument that can be, and proveth least, and soonest deceiveth. Though that one son do more service for his father than another, yet is the father free, and may with right reward them all alike. For though I had a thousand brethren, and did more than they all, yet do I not my duty. The fathers and mothers also care most for the least and weakest, and them that can do least: yea, for the worst care they most, and would spend, not their goods only, but also their blood, to bring them to the right way. And even so is it of the kingdom of Christ, as thou mayest well see in the similitude of the riotous son. (Luke xv.) More-

Similitudes are no good arguments among the sophisters ownselves.

over Paul saith, (1 Cor. vii.) It is better to marry than to burn. For the person that burneth cannot quietly serve God, inasmuch as his mind is drawn away, and the thoughts of his heart occupied with wonderful and monstrous imaginations. He can neither see, nor hear, nor read, but that his wits are rapt, and he clean from himself. And again, saith he, circumcision is nothing, uncircumcision is nothing: but the keeping of the commandments is altogether. Look wherein thou canst best keep the commandments; thither get thyself and therein abide; whether thou be widow, wife, or maid, and then hast thou all with God. If we have infirmities that draw us from the laws of God, let us cure them with the remedies that God hath made. If thou burn, marry. For God hath promised thee no chastity, as long as thou mayest use the remedy that he hath ordained: no more than he hath promised to slake thine hunger without meat.

We must cure our infirmities with the remedies that God hath ordained, and not tempt God.

How to ask of God more than he hath promised, cometh of a false faith, and is plain idolatry: and to desire a miracle where there is natural remedy, is tempting of God. And of pain-taking thiswise understand. He that taketh pains, to keep the commandments of God, is sure thereby that he loveth God, and that he hath God's spirit in him. And the more pain a man taketh (I mean patiently and without grudging) the more he loveth God, and the perfecter he is, and nearer unto that health which the souls of all Christian men long for, and the more purged from the infirmity and sin that remaineth in the flesh. But to look for any other reward or promotion in heaven or in the life to come, than that which God hath promised for Christ's sake; and which Christ hath deserved for us with his pain taking; is abominable in the sight of God. For Christ only hath purchased the reward; and our pain taking, to keep the commandments, doth but purge the sin that remaineth in the flesh, and certify us that we are chosen and sealed with God's spirit unto the reward that Christ hath purchased for us.

What tempting of God is.

I was once at the creating of Doctors of Divinity, where the opponent brought the same reason to prove that the widow had more merit than the virgin, because she had greater pain, for as much as she had once proved the pleasures of matrimony. *Ego nego, Domine Doctor,* said the respondent. For though the virgin have not proved, yet she imagined that the pleasure is greater than it is indeed, and therefore is more moved, and hath greater temptation and greater pain. Are not these disputers they that Paul speaketh of in the sixth chapter of the first Epistle to Timothy? that they are not content with the wholesome words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and doctrine of godliness: and therefore know nothing: but waste their brains about questions and strife of words, whereof spring envy, strife and railing of men with corrupt minds, destitute of the truth.

As pertaining to our lady's body, where it is, or where the body of Elias, of John the Evangelist, and of many other be, pertaineth not to us to know. One thing are we sure of, that they are where God hath laid them. If they be in heaven, we have never the more in Christ: if they be not there, we have never the less. Our duty is to prepare ourselves unto the commandments and to be thankful for that which is opened unto us, and not to search the unsearchable secrets of God. Of God's secrets can we know no more than he openeth unto us. If God shut, who shall open? How then can natural reason come by the knowledge of that which God hath hid unto himself?

Yet let us see one of their reasons wherewith they prove it. The chief reason is this, every man doth more for his mother, say they, than for other; in like manner must Christ do for his mother, therefore hath she this pre-eminence, that her body is in heaven. And yet Christ, in the xiith chap. of Matt. knoweth her not for his mother, but as farforth as she kept his Father's commandments. And Paul, in the iind Epistle to the Corinthians chap. v. knoweth not Christ himself fleshly, or after a worldly purpose.

Last of all, God is free and no further bound than he bindeth himself: if he have made her any promise he is bound; if not, then is he not. Finally, if thou set this above rehearsed chapter of Matthew before thee where Christ would not know his mother, and the iind of John where he rebuked her, and the iind of Luke where she lost him, and how negligent she was to leave him behind her at Jerusalem unawares, and to go a day's journey ere she sought for him, thou mightest resolve many of their reasons which they make of this matter, and that she was not without original sin: read also Erasmus's Annotations in the said places. And as for me, I commit all such matters unto those idle bellies which have nought else to do than to move such questions, and give them free liberty to hold what they list, as long as it hurteth not the faith, whether it be so or no: exhorting yet with Paul all that will please God, and obtain that salvation that is in Christ, that they give no heed unto unnecessary and brawling disputations, and that they labour for the knowledge of those things without which they cannot be saved. And remember that the sun was given us to guide us in our way and works bodily. Now if thou leave the natural use of the sun, and will look directly on him to see how bright he is, and such like curiosity, then will the sun blind thee. So was the Scripture given us to guide us in our way and works ghostly. The way is Christ, and the promises in him are our salvation, if we long for them. Now if we shall leave that right use and turn ourselves unto vain questions, and to search the unsearchable secrets of God, then no doubt shall the Scripture blind us as it hath done our schoolmen and our subtle disputers.

AND as they are false prophets which prove with allegories, similitudes, and worldly reasons, that which is no where made mention of in the Scripture; even so count them for false prophets which expound the Scriptures drawing them unto a worldly purpose clean contrary unto the ensample, living, and practising of Christ and of his

In expounding of the Scripture we must have a respect unto the living and practising of Christ, and of his apostles and prophets.

apostles, and of all the holy prophets. For, saith Peter, (2 Pet. i.) No prophecy in the Scripture hath any private interpretation. For the Scripture came not by the will of man; but the holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. No place of the Scripture may have a private exposition, that is, it may not be expounded after the will of man, or after the will of the flesh, or drawn unto a worldly purpose contrary unto the open texts, and the general articles of the faith, and the whole course of the Scripture, and contrary to the living and practising of Christ and the apostles and holy prophets. For as they came not by the will of man, so may they not be drawn or expounded after the will of man: but as they came by the Holy Ghost, so must they be expounded and understood by the Holy Ghost. The Scripture is that wherewith God draweth us unto him, and not wherewith we should be led from him. The Scriptures spring out of God, and flow unto Christ, and were given to lead us to Christ. Thou must therefore go along by the Scripture as by a line, until thou come at Christ, which is the way's end and resting-place. If any man, therefore, use the Scripture to draw thee from Christ, and to nosel thee in any thing save in Christ, the same is a false prophet. And that thou mayest perceive what Peter meaneth, it followeth in the text, There were false prophets among the people (whose prophesies were belly wisdom) as there shall be false teachers among you, which shall privily bring in damnable sects, (as thou seest how we are divided into monstrous sects or orders of religion) even denying the Lord that hath bought them; (for every one of them taketh on him to sell thee, for money, that which God in Christ promiseth thee freely,) and many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of (as thou seest how the way of truth is become heresy, seditious, or cause of insurrection, and breaking of the king's peace, and treason unto his highness). And through covetousness with feigned words shall they make merchandise of you.

The Scripture was given to lead us unto Christ.

Sects, or orders.

Covetousness is the conclusion: for covetousness and ambition, that is to say, lucre and desire of honour, is the final end of all false prophets and of all false teachers. Look upon the pope's false doctrine, what is the end thereof, and what seek they thereby? wherefore serveth purgatory, but to purge thy purse, and to poll thee, and rob both thee and thy heirs of house and lands, and of all thou hast, that they may be in honour? Serve not pardons for the same purpose? whereto pertaineth praying to saints, but to offer unto their bellies? wherefore serveth confession, but to sit in thy conscience and to make thee fear and tremble at whatsoever they dream, and that thou worship them as gods? and so forth, in all their traditions, ceremonies, and conjurations, they serve not the Lord, but their bellies. And of their false expounding the Scripture, and drawing it contrary unto the ensample of Christ? and the apostles and holy prophets unto their damnable covetousness and filthy ambition, take an ensample:

Covetousness and desire of honour is the end of all false doctrine, and that which false prophets seek.

Purgatory.

Pardons.

Praying to saints.

Confession.

When Peter saith to Christ, (Matt. xvi.) Thou art the Son of the living God; and Christ answered, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my congregation. By the rock interpret they Peter. And then cometh the pope, and will be Peter's successor, whether Peter will or will not; yea, whether God will, or will not; and though all the Scripture say Nay to any such succession, and faith, Lo I am the rock, the foundation, and head of Christ's church. Now saith all the Scripture, that the rock is Christ, the faith, and God's word. As Christ saith, (Matt. vii.) He that heareth my words and doth thereafter, is like a man that buildeth on a rock. For the house that is built on God's word will stand, though heaven should fall. And (John xv.) Christ is the vine, and we the branches; so is Christ the rock, the stock and foundation whereon we be built. And Paul (1 Cor. iii.) calleth Christ our foundation; and all other, whether it be Peter or Paul, he calleth them servants to preach Christ, and to build us on him. If therefore the pope be Peter's succes-

An example of false expounding the Scriptures.

Christ, the faith, and God's word is the rock, and not the pope.

The authority of Peter's successor is but to preach.

sor, his duty is to preach Christ only, and other authority hath he none. And (2d xi.) Paul marrieth us unto Christ, and driveth us from all trust and confidence in man. And, (Eph. ii.) saith Paul, Ye are built on the foundation of the apostles and prophets; that is, on the word which they preached; Christ being, saith he, the head corner stone, in whom every building, coupled together, groweth up into an holy temple in the Lord, in whom also ye are built together and made an habitation for God in the Spirit. And Peter, in the iid of his first Epistle, buildeth us on Christ, contrary to the pope, which buildeth on himself. Hell gates shall not prevail against it; that is to say, against the congregation that is build upon Christ's faith, and upon God's word. Now were the pope the rock, hell gates could not prevail against him. For the house could not stand if the rock and foundation whereon it is built did perish: but the contrary see we in our popes. For hell gates have prevailed against them many hundred years, and have swallowed them up, if God's word be true, and the stories that are written of them; yea, or if it be true that we see with our eyes. I will give thee the keys of heaven, saith Christ, and not, I give. And (John xxth.) after the resurrection paid it, and gave the keys to them all indifferently. Whatsoever thou bindest on earth, it shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou loosest on earth, it shall be loosed in heaven. Of this text maketh the pope what he will, and expoundeth it contrary to all the Scripture, contrary to Christ's practising, and the apostles, and all the prophets. Now the Scripture giveth record to himself, and ever expoundeth itself by another open text. If the pope then cannot bring for his exposition the practising of Christ or of the apostles and prophets, or an open text, then is his exposition false doctrine. Christ expoundeth himself, (Matt. xviii.) saying, If the brother sin against thee, rebuke him betwixt him and thee alone. If he hear thee, thou hast won thy brother: but if he hear thee not, then take with thee one or two, and so forth, as

That exposition is false which is against the open Scripture, or against the practising of Christ and of his apostles.

it standeth in the text. He concludeth, saying to the mall, Whatsoever ye bind in earth, it shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye loose on earth, it shall be loosed in heaven. Where binding is but to rebuke them that sin, and loosing to forgive them that repent. And (John xx.) Whose sins ye forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins ye hold, they are holden. And Paul (1 Cor. v.) bindeth, and (2 Cor. ii.) looseth after the same manner.

Binding and loosing is one power.

Also this binding and loosing is one power; and as he bindeth, so looseth he: yea, and bindeth first ere he can loose. For who can loose that is not bound? Now whatsoever Peter bindeth, or his successor, (as he will be called and is not, but indeed the very successor of Satan) is not so to be understood, that Peter, or the pope hath power to command a man to be in deadly sin, or to be damned, or to go into hell, saying, Be thou in deadly sin, be thou damned, go thou to hell, go thou to purgatory. For that exposition is contrary to the everlasting Testament that God hath made unto us in Christ. He sent his Son Christ to loose us from sin, and damnation, and hell, and that to testify unto the world, sent he his disciples. (Acts i.) Paul also hath no power to destroy, but to edify. (2 Cor. x. and xiii.) How can Christ give his disciples power against himself, and against his everlasting Testament? Can he send them to preach salvation, and give them power to damn whom they lust? What mercy and profit have we in Christ's death, and in his gospel, if the pope which passeth all men in wickedness, hath power to send whom he will to hell, and to damn whom he lusteth? we had then no cause, to call him Jesus, that is to say, Saviour: but might of right call him destroyer. Wherefore, then this binding is to be understood as Christ interpreteth it in the places above rehearsed, and as the apostles practised it, and is nothing but to rebuke men of their sins, by preaching the law. A man must first sin against God's law, ere the pope can bind him: yea, and a man must first sin against God's law, ere he need to fear the pope's curse. For

What Jesus signifieth.

What binding meaneth.

What cursing meaneth.

cursing and binding are both one, and nothing saving to rebuke a man of his sins by God's law. It followeth also, then, that the loosing is of like manner, and is nothing

What loosing meaneth.

but forgiving of sin to them that repent, through preaching of the promises which God hath made in Christ, in whom only we have all forgiveness of sins, as Christ interpreteth it, and as the apostles and prophets practised it. So is it a false power that the pope taketh on him, to loose God's laws, as to give a man license to put away his wife to whom God hath bound him, and to bind them to chastity which God commandeth to marry; that is to wit, them that burn and cannot life chaste. It is also a false power to bind that which God's word maketh free, making sin in the creatures which God hath made for man's use.

The pope which so fast looseth and purgeth in purgatory, cannot with all the loosings and purgations that he hath, either loose or purge our appetites, and lust and rebellion that is in us against the law of God. And yet the purging of them is the right purgatory. If he cannot purge them that are alive, wherewith purgeth he them that are dead? The apostles knew no other ways to purge, but through preaching God's word, which word only is that that purgeth the heart, as thou mayest see John xv. Ye are pure saith Christ, through the word. Now the pope preacheth not to them whom they feign to lie in purgatory, no more than he doth to us that are alive. How then purgeth he them? The pope is kin to Robin Goodfellow which sweepeth the house, washeth the dishes, and purgeth all by night. But when day cometh there is nothing found clean.

The pope is Robin goodfellow.

Some man will say the pope bindeth them not, they bind themselves. I answer, he that bindeth himself to the pope, and had lever have his life and soul ruled by the pope's will than by the will of God, and by the pope's word, than by the word of God, is a fool. And he that had lever be bond than free is not wise. And he that will not abide in the freedom wherein Christ hath set us, is

also mad. And he that maketh deadly sin where none is, and seeketh causes of hatred between him and God, is not in his right wits. Furthermore, no man can bind himself further than he hath power over himself. He that is under the power of another man, cannot bind himself without license, as son, daughter, wife, servant, and subject. Neither canst thou give God that which is not in thy power. Chastity canst thou not give further than God lendeth it thee: if thou cannot live chaste, thou art bound to marry or to be damned. Last of all, for what purpose thou bindest thyself must be seen. If thou do it to obtain thereby that which Christ hath purchased for thee freely, so art thou an infidel, and hast no part with Christ, and so forth. If thou wilt see more of this matter look in Deuteronomy, and there shalt thou find it more largely entreated.

Of ourselves we can perform nothing further than God will give us power.

Take another ensample of their false expounding the Scripture. Christ saith, (Matt. xxiii.) The scribes and the pharisees sit on Moses' seat; whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but after their works do not. Lo, say our sophisters or hypocrites, live we never so abominably, yet is our authority never the less. Do as we teach, therefore, (say they) and not as we do. And yet Christ saith they sit on Moses' seat; that is as long as they teach Moses, do as they teach. For the law of Moses is the law of God. But for their own traditions and false doctrine Christ rebuked them, and disobeyed them, and taught other to beware of their leaven. So if our pharisees sit on Christ's seat and preach him, we ought to hear them; but when they sit on their own seat, then ought we to beware as well of their pestilent doctrine as of their abominable living.

Another example.

To sit on Christ's seat is to preach and confess Christ.

Likewise where they find mention made of a sword, they turn it unto the pope's power. The disciples said unto Christ, (Luke xxii.) Lo, here be two swords. And Christ answered two is enough. Lo, say they, the pope hath two swords, the spiritual sword and the temporal

sword. And therefore is it lawful for him to fight and make war.

Christ a little before he went to his passion, asked his disciples, saying, When I sent you out without all provision, lacked ye any thing? and they said Nay. And he answered, But now let him that hath a wallet take it with him, and he that hath a scrip likewise, and let him that hath never a sword, sell his coat and buy one: as who should say, it shall go otherwise now than then. Then ye went forth in faith of my word, and my Father's promises, and it fed you and made provision for you, and was your sword and shield, and defender; but now it shall go as thou readest Zechariah xiii. I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered. Now shall my Father leave me in the hands of the wicked; and ye also shall be forsaken and destitute of faith, and shall trust in yourselves, and in your own provision, and in your own defence. Christ gave no commandment, but prophesied what should happen. And they, because they understood him not, answered, Here are two swords. And Christ (to make an end of such babbling) answered, Two is enough. For if he had commanded every man to buy a sword, how had two been enough? also if two were enough, and pertained to the pope only, why are they all commanded to buy every man a sword? By the sword, therefore, Christ prophesied that they should be left unto their own defence. And two swords were enough, yea, never-a-one had been enough. For if every one of them had had ten swords they would have fled ere midnight.

Christ rebuketh desire of preeminence in his disciples, but the pope challengeth it above all men as his own inheritance.

In the same chapter of Luke, not twelve lines from the foresaid text, the disciples, even at the last supper, asked who should be the greatest. And Christ rebuked them, and said it was an heathenish thing, and there should be no such thing among them, but that the greatest should be as the smallest, and that to be great was to do service as Christ did. But this text because it is brighter than the sun, that they can make no so-

phistry of it, therefore will they not hear it, nor let other know it.

FORASMUCH now as thou partly seest the falsehood of our prelates, how all their study is to deceive us and to keep us in darkness, to sit as gods in our consciences, and handle us at their pleasure, and to lead us whether they lust; therefore I read thee, get thee to God's word, and thereby try all doctrine, and against that receive nothing. Neither any exposition contrary unto the open texts, neither contrary to the general articles of the faith, neither contrary to the living and practising of Christ and his apostles. And when they cry, Fathers, fathers, remember that it were the fathers that blinded and robbed the whole world, and brought us into this captivity, wherein these enforce to keep us still. Furthermore, as they of the old time are fathers to us, so shall these foul monsters be fathers to them that come after us; and the hypocrites that follow us will cry of these and of their doings, Fathers, fathers, as these cry Fathers, fathers, of them that are past. And as we feel our Fathers, so did they that are past feel their fathers: neither were there in the world any other fathers than such as we both see and feel this many hundred years; as their decrees bear record, and the stories and chronicles well testify. If God's word appeared any where, they agreed all against it. When they had brought that asleep, then strove they one with another about their own traditions, and one pope condemned anothers' decrees, and were sometimes two, yea, three popes at once. And one bishop went to law with another, and one cursed another for their own fantasies, and such things as they had falsely gotten. And the greatest saints are they that most defended the liberties of the church; (as they call it) which they falsely got with blinding kings; neither had the world any rest this many hundred years, for reforming of friars and monks and ceasing of schisms that were among our clergy. And as for the holy doctors, as Augustine, Jerome, Cyprian,

Fathers, fathers.

Chrisostomus, and Bede, will they not hear. If they wrote any thing negligently, (as they were men) that draw they clean contrary to their meaning, and thereof triumph they. Those doctors knew of none authority that one bishop should have above another, neither thought or once dreamed that ever any such should be, or of any such whispering or of pardons, or scouring of purgatory, as they have feigned.

Miracles, miracles.

And when they cry, Miracles, miracles, remember that God hath made an everlasting testament with us in Christ's blood, against which we may receive no miracles; no, neither the preaching of Paul himself if he came again, by his own teaching to the Galatians, neither yet the preaching of the angels of heaven. Wherefore either they are no miracles but they have feigned them, (as is the miracle that St. Peter hallowed Westminster) or else if there be miracles that confirm doctrine contrary to God's word, then are they done of the devil, (as the maid of Ipswich and of Kent) to prove us whether we will cleave fast to God's word, and to deceive them that have no love to the truth of God's word, nor lust to walk in his laws.

The woman of Lemster was a solemn miracle.

The armour of the spiritualty.

And forasmuch as they to deceive withal arm themselves against them with arguments and persuasions of fleshly wisdom; with worldly similitudes; with shadows; with false allegories; with false expositions of the Scripture, contrary unto the living and practising of Christ and the apostles; with lies and false miracles; with false names; dumb ceremonies; with disguising of hypocrisy; with the authorities of the fathers; and last of all with the violence of the temporal sword: therefore do thou contrariwise arm thyself to defend thee withal, as Paul teacheth in the last chapter of the Ephesians, Gird on thee the sword of the Spirit, which is God's word, and take to thee the shield of faith: which is not to believe a tale of Robin Hood, or Gestus Romanorum, or of the Chronicles, but to believe God's word that lasteth ever.

The armour of a Christian man is God's word and faith.

And when the pope with his falsehood challengeth tem-

poral authority above king and emperor, set before thee the xxvth. chap. of St. Matt. where Christ commandeth Peter to put up his sword. And set before thee Paul iind. Cor. xth. where he saith the weapons of our war are not carnal things, but mighty in God to bring all understanding in captivity under the obedience of Christ; that is, the weapons are God's word and doctrine, and not swords of iron and steel, and set before thee the doctrine of Christ and of his apostles and their practice.

And when the pope challengeth authority over his fellow bishops, and over all the congregation of Christ by succession of Peter, set before thee the first of the Acts where Peter for all his authority put no man in the room of Judas; but all the apostles chose two indifferently, and cast lots, desiring God to temper them that the lot might fall on the most able. And (Acts viii.) the apostles sent Peter, and in the xith. call him to reckoning, and to give accounts of that he hath done.

And when the pope's law commandeth, saying, though that the pope live never so wickedly and draw with him through his evil ensample innumerable thousands into hell, yet see that no man presume to rebuke him, for he is head over all, and no man over him, set before thee Galatians iid. where Paul rebuketh Peter openly. And see how both to the Corinthians, and also to the Galatians, he will have no superior but God's word, and he that could teach better by God's word. And because when he rehearsed his preaching and his doings unto the high apostles, they could improve nothing, therefore will he be equal with the best.

God's word above men's judgments.

And when the friars say, they do more than their duty, when they preach, and more than they are bound to: To say our service are we bound (say they) and that is our duty, and to preach is more than we are bound to. Set thou before thee how that Christ's blood-shedding hath bound us to love one another with all our might, and to do the uttermost of our power one to another. And Paul

Friars be not bound to preach.

saith, (1 Cor. ix.) Woe be unto me, if I preach not: yea, woe is unto him that hath wherewith to help his neighbour and to make him better and do it not. If they think it more than their duty to preach Christ unto you, then they think it more than their duty to pray that he should come to the knowledge of Christ. And therefore it is no marvel though they take so great labour: yea, and so great wages also to keep you still in darkness.

And when they cry furiously, Hold the heretics unto the wall, and if they will not revoke, burn them without any more ado; reason not with them, it is an article condemned by the fathers; set thou before thee the saying of Peter: (1 Pet. iii.) To all that ask you, be ready to give an answer of the hope that is in you, and that with meekness. The fathers of the Jews and the bishops, which had as great authority over them as ours have over us, condemned Christ and his doctrine. If it be enough to say the fathers have condemned it, then are the Jews to be holden excused; yea, they are yet in the right way, and we in the false; but and if the Jews be bound to look in the Scripture and to see whether their fathers have done right or wrong, then are we likewise bound to look in the Scripture whether our fathers have done right or wrong, and ought to believe nothing without a reason of the Scripture, and authority of God's word.

And of this manner defend thyself against all manner [of] wickedness of our spirits, armed always with God's word and with a strong and a steadfast faith thereunto. Without God's word do nothing. And to his word add nothing, neither pull any thing therefrom, as Moses every where teacheth thee. Serve God in the Spirit, and thy neighbour with all outward service. Serve God as he hath appointed thee, and not with thy good intent and good zeal. Remember Saul was cast away of God for ever, for his good intent. God requireth obedience unto his word, and abhorreth all good intents and good zeals which are without God's word. For they

How God ought to be served.

are nothing else than plain idolatry and worshipping of false Gods.

In Christ is rest of conscience only.

And remember that Christ is the end of all things. He only is our resting place, and he is our peace. (Eph. chap. ii.) For as there is no salvation in any other name, so is there no peace in any other name. Thou shalt never have rest in thy soul, neither shall the worm of conscience ever cease to gnaw thine heart, till thou come at Christ: till thou hear the glad tidings, how that God for his sake hath forgiven thee all freely. If thou trust in thy works there is no rest. Thou shalt think, I have not done enough. Have I done it with so great love as I should do? was I so glad in doing as I would be to receive help at my need? I have left this or that undone, and such like. If thou trust in confession, then shalt thou think, Have I told all? have I told all the circumstances? Did I repent enough? had I as great sorrow in my repentance for my sins as I had pleasure in doing them? Likewise in our holy pardons and pilgrimages, gettest thou no rest. For thou seest that the very gods themselves which sell their pardon so good, cheap, or somewhiles give them freely for glory sake, trust not therein themselves. They build colleges, and make perpetuities to be prayed for for ever, and lade the lips of their beadmen, or chaplains with so many masses, and dirges, and so long service, that I have known some that have bid the devil take their founders' souls, for very impatience and weariness of so painful labour.

Do good deeds and trust in Christ.

As pertaining to good deeds therefore, do the best thou canst, and desire God to give strength to do better daily; but in Christ put thy trust, and in the pardon and promises that God hath made thee for his sake, and on that rock build thine house and there dwell. For there only shalt thou be sure from all storms and tempests, and from all wily assaults of our wicked spirits which study with all falsehood to undermine us. And the God of all mercy give thee grace so to do, unto whom be glory for ever. Amen.

A COMPENDIOUS REHEARSAL OF THAT WHICH GOETH BEFORE.

I HAVE described unto you the obedience of children, servants, wives, and subjects. These four orders are of God's making, and the rules thereof are God's word. He that keepeth them shall be blessed: yea, is blessed already, and he that breaketh them shall be cursed. If any person of impatience or of a stubborn and rebellious mind, withdraw himself from any of these, and get him to any other order, let him not think thereby to avoid the vengeance of God in obeying rules and traditions of man's imagination. If thou pollest thine head in the worship of thy father, and breakest his commandments, shouldest thou so escape? or if thou paintest thy Master's image on a wall and stickest up a candle before it, shouldest thou therewith make satisfaction for the breaking of his commandments? Or if thou wearest a blue coat in the worship of the king and breakest his laws shouldest thou so go quit? Let a man's wife make herself a sister of the charterhouse, and answer her husband when he biddeth her hold her peace, My brethren keep silence for me, and see whether she shall so escape. And be thou sure God is more jealous over his commandments than man is over his, or than any man is over his wife.

God's word is the rule of children, servants, wives, and subjects.

Because we be blind, God hath appointed in the Scripture how we should serve him and please him. As pertaining unto his own person he is abundantly pleased when we believe his promises and Holy Testament which he hath made unto us in Christ, and for the mercy which he there shewed us, love his commandments. All bodily service must be done to man in God's stead. We must give obedience, honour, toll, tribute, custom, and rent unto whom they belong. Then if thou have ought more to bestow, give unto the poor which are left here in Christ's

To please God, is to believe his promises, and to love his commandments.

stead, that we shew mercy on them. If we keep the commandments of love, then are we sure that we fulfil the law in the sight of God, and that our blessing shall be everlasting life. Now when we obey patiently, and without grudging, evil princes that oppress us, and persecute us, and be kind and merciful to them that are merciless to us, and do the worst they can to us, and so take all fortune patiently, and kiss whatsoever cross God layeth on our backs, then are we sure that we keep the commandments of love.

I declared that God hath taken all vengeance into his own hands, and will avenge all unright himself: either by the powers or offices which are appointed thereto, or else, if they be negligent, he will send his curses upon the transgressors, and destroy them with his secret judgments. I shewed also that whosoever avengeth himself is damned in the deed doing, and falleth into the hands of the temporal sword, because he taketh the office of God upon him and robbeth God of his most high honour, in that he will not patiently abide his judgment. I shewed you of the authority of princes, how they are in God's stead, and how they may not be resisted, do they never so evil, they must be reserved unto the wrath of God. Neverthelater, if they command to do evil we must then disobey and say, We are otherwise commanded of God: but not to rise against them. They will kill us then, sayest thou. Therefore, I say, is a christian called, to suffer even the bitter death for his hope's sake, and because he will do no evil. I shewed also that the kings and rulers (be they never so evil) are yet a great gift of the goodness of God, and defend us from a thousand things that we see not.

He that will avenge robbeth God of his honour.

How evil soever the king is, yet is he unto thee a great gift of God.

I proved also that all men without exception are under the temporal sword, whatsoever names they give themselves. Because the priest is chosen out of the laymen, to teach this obedience, is that a lawful cause for him to disobey? Because he preacheth that the layman should not steal, is it therefore lawful for him to steal unpunished? Because

thou teachest me that I may not kill, or if I do, the king must kill me again, is it therefore lawful for thee to kill and go free? either whether is it rather mete that thou which art my guide to teach me the right way shouldst walk therein before me? The priests of the old law with their high bishop Aaron, and all his successors, though they were anointed by God's commandment, and appointed to serve God in his temple, and exempt from all offices, and ministering of worldly matters, were yet nevertheless under the temporal sword, if they brake the laws. Christ saith to Peter, All that take the sword shall perish by the sword. Here is none exception. Paul saith, All souls must obey. Here is none exception. Paul himself is here not exempt. God saith, (Gen. ix.) Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed again. Here is none exception.

The pope hath a law that none of his spirits may be surety.

Moreover Christ became poor to make other men rich, and bound to make other free. He left also with his disciples the law of love. Now love seeketh not her own profit, but her neighbour's: love seeketh not her own freedom, but becometh surety and bond to make her neighbour free. Damned, therefore, are the spiritualty by all the laws of God, which through falsehood and disguised hypocrisy have sought so great profit, so great riches, so great authority, and so great liberties, and have so beggared the lay, and so brought them in subjection and bondage, and so despised them, that they have set up franchises in all towns and villages, for whosoever robbeth, murdereth or slayeth them, and even for traitors unto the king's person also.

I proved also that no king hath power to grant them such liberty; but are as well damned for their giving, as they for their false purchasing. For as God giveth the father power over his children, even so giveth he him a commandment to execute it, and not to suffer them to do wickedly unpunished, but unto his damnation, as thou mayest see by Eli, the high priest, &c. And as the master hath

authority over his servants, even so hath he a commandment to govern them. And as the husband is head over his wife, even so hath he commandment to rule her appetites, and is damned, if he suffer her to be an whore and a mis-liver, or submit himself to her, and make her his head. And even in like manner as God maketh the king head over his realm, even so giveth he him commandment to execute the laws upon all men indifferently. For the law is God's, and not the king's. The king is but a servant, to execute the law of God, and not to rule after his own imagination.

The king is but a servant to execute the laws of God.

I showed also that the law and the king are to be feared, as things that were given in fire, and in thunder, and lightning, and terrible signs. I showed the cause why rulers are evil, and by what means we might obtain better. I showed also how wholesome those bitter medicines evil princes are to right Christian men.

I declared how they which God hath made governors in the world ought to rule, if they be Christian. They ought to remember that they are heads and arms, to defend the body, to minister peace, health, and wealth, and even to save the body; and that they have received their offices of God, to minister and to do service unto their brethren: king, subject, master, servant, are names in the world; but not in Christ. In Christ we are all one, and even brethren. No man is his own, but we are all Christ's servants, bought with Christ's blood. Therefore ought no man to seek himself or his own profit; bu Christ and his will. In Christ no man ruleth as a king his subjects, or a master his servants; but serveth as one hand doth to another, and as the hands do unto the feet, and the feet to the hands, as thou seest 1 Cor. xii. We also serve not as servants unto masters; but as they which are bought with Christ's blood serve Christ himself. We be here all servants unto Christ. For whatsoever we do one to another in Christ's name, that do we unto Christ, and the reward of that shall we receive of Christ. The

How far a king ought to seek at his commons' hands.

king counteth his commons Christ himself, and therefore doth them service willingly; seeking no more of them than is sufficient to maintain peace and unity, and to defend the realm. And they obey again willingly and lovingly, as unto Christ. And of Christ every man seeketh his reward.

I warned the judges that they take not an ensample how to minister their offices of our spiritualty, which are bought and sold to do the will of Satan; but of the Scripture, whence they have their authority. Let that which is secret abide secret till God open it, which is the Judge of secrets. For it is more than a cruel thing to break up into a man's heart, and to compel him to put either soul or body in jeopardy, or to shame himself. If Peter, that great pillar, for fear of death, forsook his Master, ought we not to spare weak consciences?

Note.

I declared how the king ought to rid his realm from the wily tyranny of the hypocrites, and to bring the hypocrites under his laws: yea, and how he ought to be learned, and to hear, and to look upon the causes himself, which he will punish; and not to believe the hypocrites, and to give them his sword to kill whom they will.

The king ought to count what he hath spent in the pope's quarrel since he was king. The first voyage cost upon fourteen hundred thousand pounds. Reckon since what hath been spent by sea and land between us and Frenchmen, and Scots, and then in triumphs, and in embassies, and what hath been sent out of the realm secretly, and all to maintain our holy father, and I doubt not but that will surmount the sum of forty or fifty hundred thousand pounds. For we had no cause to spend one penny but for our holy father. The king therefore ought to make them pay this money every farthing, and set it out of their mitres, crosses, shrines, and all manner [of] treasure of the church, and pay it to his commons again: not that only which the cardinal and his bishops compelled the commons to lend, and made them swear with

such an ensample of tyranny as was never before thought on; but also all that he hath gathered of them. Or else by the consent of the commons, to keep it in store for the defence of the realm. Yea, the king ought to look in the chronicles, what the popes have done to kings in time past, and make them restore it also; and ought to take away from them their lands which they have gotten with their false prayers, and restore it unto the right heirs again; or with consent and advisement turn them unto the maintaining of the poor, and bringing up of youth virtuously, and to maintain necessary officers and ministers for to defend the commonwealth.

If he will not do it, then ought the commons to take patience, and to take it for God's scourge, and to think that God hath blinded the king for their sins' sake, and commit their cause to God: and then shall God make a a scourge for them, and drive them out of his temple, after his wonderful judgment.

ON the other side, I have also uttered the wickedness of the spiritualty, the falsehood of the bishops, and juggling of the pope, and how they have disguised themselves, borrowing some of their pomp of the Jews, and some of the Gentiles, and have with subtle wiles turned the obedience that should be given to God's ordinance unto themselves. And how they have put out God's Testament and God's truth, and set up their own traditions and lies, in which they have taught the people to believe, and thereby sit in their consciences as God; and have by that means robbed the world of lands and goods, of peace and unity, and of all temporal authority, and have brought the people into the ignorance of God, and have heaped the wrath of God upon all realms; and namely, upon the kings: whom they have robbed, (I speak not of worldly things only) but even of their very natural wits. They make them believe that they are most Christian, when they live most abominably; and will suffer no man in their realms

that believeth on Christ; and that they are defenders of the faith, when they burn the gospel and promises of God, out of which all faith springeth.

I showed how they have ministered Christ, king and emperor out of their rooms; and how they have made them a several kingdom, which they got at the first in deceiving of princes, and now pervert the whole Scripture, to prove that they have such authority of God. And lest the laymen should see how falsely they allege the places of the Scripture, is the greatest cause of this persecution.

Confession.

They have feigned confession for the same purpose to stablish their kingdom withal. All secrets know they thereby. The bishop knoweth the confession of whom he lusteth throughout all his diocese. Yea, and his chancellor commandeth the ghostly father to deliver it written. The pope, his cardinals and bishops, know the confession of the emperor, kings, and of all lords: and by confession they know all their captives. If any believe in Christ, by confession they know him. Shrive thyself where thou wilt, whether at Sion, Charterhouse, or at the observant's, thy confession is known well enough. And thou, if thou believe in Christ, art waited upon. Wonderful are the things that thereby are wrought. The wife is feared, and compelled to utter not her own only, but also the secrets of her husband, and the servant the secrets of his master. Besides that through confession they quench the faith of all the promises of God, and take away the effect and virtue of all the sacraments of Christ.

The manifold enormities which their auricular confession did breed.

They have also corrupted the saints' lives with lies and feigned miracles, and have put many things out of the sentence or great curse, as raising of rent and fines, and hiring men out of their houses, and whatsoever wickedness they themselves do; and have put a great part of the stories and chronicles out of the way lest their falsehood should be seen. For there is no mischiefs or disorder, whether it be in the temporal regiment, or else in the

The pope and his chaplains were the fountains of all evils in spiritual regiment or temporal.

spiritual, whereof they are not the chief causes, and even the very fountain and springs, and as we say, the well-head; so that it is impossible to preach against mischief except thou begin at them, or to set any reformation in the world except thou reform them first. Now are they indurate and tough as Pharaoh, and will not bow unto any right way or order. And therefore persecute they God's word and the preachers thereof; and on the other side lie await unto all princes, and stir up all mischief in the world, and send them to war, and occupy their minds therewith, or with other voluptuousness, lest they should have leisure to hear the word of God, and to set an order in their realms.

By them is all things ministered, and by them are all kings ruled: yea, in every king's conscience sit they ere he be king, and persuade every king what they lust, and make them both to believe what they will, and to do what they will. Neither can any king or any realm have rest for their businesses. Behold king Henry the Vth, whom they sent out for such a purpose as they sent out our king that now is. See how the realm is inhabited. Ask where the goodly towns and their walls, and the people that was wont to be in them are become, and where the blood royal of the realm is become also? Turn thine eyes whither thou wilt, and thou shalt see nothing prosperous but their subtle polling. With that it is flowing water: yea, and I trust it will be shortly a full sea.

Under an outward pretence of God's honour, the pope's clergy procured their own dignity.

In all their doings, though they pretend outwardly the honour of God or a commonwealth, their intent and secret counsel is only to bring all under their power, and to take out of the way whosoever letteth them, or is too mighty for them. As when they send the princes to Jerusalem, to conquer the holy land, and to fight against the Turks, whatsoever they pretend outwardly, their secret intent is, while the princes there conquer them more bishoprics, to conquer their lands in the mean season with their false hypocrisy, and to bring all under them; which

thou mayest easily perceive by that they will not let us know the faith of Christ. And when they are once on high, then are they tyrants above all tyrants, whether they be Turks or Saracens. How minister they proving of testaments? How causes of wedlock? or if any man die intestate? If a poor man die, and leave his wife and half a dozen young children, and but one cow to find them, that will they have for a mortuary mercy-lease: let come of wife and children what will. Yea, let any thing be done against their pleasure, and they will interdict the whole realm, sparing no person.

Read the chronicles of England (out of which yet they have put a great part of their wickedness,) and thou shalt find them always both rebellious and disobedient to the kings, and also churlish and unthankful, so that when all the realm gave the king somewhat to maintain him in his right, they would not give a mite. Consider the story of king John, where I doubt not but they have put the best and fairest for themselves, and the worst of king John. For I suppose they make the chronicles themselves. Compare the doings of their holy church (as they ever call it) unto the learning of Christ and of his apostles. Did not the legate of Rome assoil all the lords of the realm of their due obedience which they ought to the king by the ordinance of God? Would he not have cursed the king with his solemn pomp, because he would have done that office which God commandeth every king to do, and wherefore God hath put the sword in every king's hand? that is to wit, because king John would have punished a wicked clerk that had coined false money. The laymen that had not done half so great faults must die, but the clerk must go escape free! Sent not the pope also unto the king of France remission of his sins, to go and conquer king John's realm? So now remission of sins cometh not by faith in the testament that God hath made in Christ's blood; but by fighting and murdering for the pope's pleasure. Last of all, was not

king John fain to deliver his crown unto the legate, and to yield up his realm unto the pope, wherefore we pay Peter-pence. They might be called the polling-pence of false prophets well enough. They care not by what mischief they come by their purpose. War and conquering of lands is their harvest. The wickeder the people are, the more they have the hypocrites in reverence, the more they fear them, and the more they believe in them. And they that conquer other men's lands, when they die, make them their heirs, to be prayed for for ever. Let there come one conquest more in the realm, and thou shalt see them get yet as much more as they have (if they can keep down God's word, that their juggling come not to light) yea, thou shalt see them take the realm whole into their hands, and crown one of themselves king thereof. And verily, I see no other likelihood, but that the land shall be shortly conquered. The stars of the Scripture promise us none other fortune, inasmuch as we deny Christ with the wicked Jews, and will not have him reign over us; but will be still children of darkness under antichrist, and antichrist's possession, burning the gospel of Christ, and defending a faith that may not stand with his holy Testament.

The keeping down of God's word promoted the pope's spiritualty's honour.

If any man shed blood in the church, it shall be interdicted till he have paid for the hallowing. If he be not able, the parish must pay, or else shall it stand always interdicted. They will be avenged on them that never offended. Full well prophesied of them Paul, in the 2d Epistle to Tim. chap. iii. Some man will say, Wouldest thou that men should fight in the church unpunished? Nay, but let the king ordain a punishment for them, as he doth for them that fight in his palace, and let not all the parish be troubled for one's fault. And as for their hallowing, it is the juggling of antichrist. A Christian man is the temple of God and of the Holy Ghost, and hallowed in Christ's blood. A Christian man is holy in himself, by reason of the Spirit that dwelleth in him; and the place wherein he is is holy by reason of him, whether he be in

the field or town. A Christian husband sanctifieth an unchristian wife, and a Christian wife an unchristian husband, (as concerning the use of matrimony) saith Paul to the Corinthians. If now while we seek to be hallowed in Christ, we are found unholy, and must be hallowed by the ground, or place, or walls, then died Christ in vain. Howbeit, antichrist must have wherewith to sit in men's consciences, and to make them fear where is no fear, and to rob them of their faith, and to make them trust in that cannot help them, and to seek holiness of that which is not holy in itself.

After that the old king of France was brought down out of Italy, mark what pageants have been played, and what are yet a playing to separate us from the emperor, (lest by the help or aid of us he should be able to recover his right of the pope) and to couple us to the Frenchmen, whose might the pope ever abuseth to keep the emperor from Italy. What prevaileth it for any king to marry his daughter or his son, or to make any peace or good ordinance for the wealth of his realm? For it shall no longer last than it is profitable to them. Their reason is so secret that the world cannot perceive it. They dissimil those things which they are only cause of, and simil discord among themselves when they are most agreed. One shall hold this, and another shall dispute the contrary: but the conclusion shall be that most maintaineth their falsehood, though God's word be never so contrary. What have they wrought in our days; yea, and what work they yet, to the perpetual dishonour of the king, and rebuke of the realm, and shame of all the nation, in whatsoever realms they go!

The bishop of Rochester is a fit pattern to judge all the rest of affinity by.

I uttered unto you partly the malicious blindness of the bishop of Rochester, his juggling, his conveying, his foxey-wiliness, his bo-peep, his wresting, renting, and shameful abusing of the Scripture; his oratory and alleging of heretics, and how he would make the apostles authors of blind ceremonies, without signification, contrary to their own

doctrine, and have set him for an ensample to judge all other by. Whatsoever thou art that readest this, I exhort thee in Christ, to compare his sermon and that which I I have written, and the Scripture together, and judge. There shalt thou find of our holy father's authority, and what it is to be great, and how to know the greatest.

Then followeth the cause why laymen cannot rule temporal offices, which is the falsehood of the bishops. There shalt thou find of miracles and ceremonies without signification; of false anointing, and lying signs, and false names; and how the spiritualty are disguised in falsehood, and how they rule the people in darkness, and do all thing in the Latin tongue, and of their petty pillage. Their polling is like a soaking consumption, wherein a man complaineth of feebleness and of faintness, and wotteth not whence his disease cometh; it is like a pock that fretteth inward, and consumeth the very marrow of the bones.

The cause why kings could not come to the knowledge of the truth.

There seest thou the cause why it is impossible for kings to come to the knowledge of the truth. For the spirits lay await for them, and serve their appetites at all points; and through confession, buy and sell and betray both them and all their true friends, and lay baits for them, and never leave them till they have blinded them with their sophistry, and have brought them into their nets. And then when the king is captive, they compel all the rest with violence of his sword. For if any man will not obey them, be it right or wrong, they cite him, suspend him, and curse or excommunicate him. If he then obey not, they deliver him to Pilate, that is to say, unto the temporal officers, to destroy them. Last of all, there findest thou the very cause of all persecution, which is the preaching against hypocrisy.

Then come we to the sacraments, where thou seest that the work of the sacrament saveth not, but the faith in the promise, which the sacrament signifieth, justifieth us only. There hast thou that a priest is but a servant to teach only, and whatsoever he taketh upon him more than

to preach and to minister the sacraments of Christ, (which is also preaching) is falsehood.

Then cometh how they juggle through dumb ceremonies, and how they make merchandise with feigned words; penance, *a pœnâ et a culpa*, satisfaction, attrition, character, purgatory, pick-purse; and how through confession they make the sacraments and all the promise of none effect or value. There seest thou that absolving is but preaching the promises; and cursing or excommunicating, preaching the law; and of their power, and of their keys, of false miracles, and praying to saints. There seest thou that ceremonies did not the miracles, but faith: even as it was not Moses' rod that did the miracles, but Moses' faith in the promises of God. Thou seest also that to have a faith where God hath not a promise, is idolatry. And there also seest thou how the pope exalteth himself above God, and commandeth him to obey his tyranny. Last of all, thou hast there that no man ought to preach but he that is called.

Miracles are done by faith, and not by ceremonies.

Then followeth the belly-brotherhood of monks and friars. For Christ hath deserved nought with them. For his sake gettest thou no favour. Thou must offer unto their bellies, and then they pray bitterly for thee. There seest thou that Christ is the only cause: yea, and all the cause why God doth ought for us, and heareth our complaint. And there hast thou doctrine how to know and to be sure that thou art elect and hast God's spirit in thee. And hast there learning to try the doctrine of our spirits.

Then follow the four senses of the Scripture, of which three are no senses; and the fourth, that is to wit the literal sense, which is the very sense, hath the pope taken to himself. It may have no other meaning than as it pleaseth his fatherhood. We must abide his interpretation. And as his belly thinks, so must we think, though it be impossible to gather any such meaning of the Scripture. Then hast thou the very use of allegories, and how they are nothing but ensamples borrowed of the Scripture to ex-

The use of allegories.

press a text or an open conclusion of the Scripture, and as it were to paint it before thine eyes, that thou mayest feel the meaning and the power of the Scripture in thine heart. Then cometh the use of worldly similitudes, and how they are false prophets which bring a worldly similitude for any other purpose, save to express more plainly that which is contained in an open text. And so are they also which draw the Scripture contrary to the open places, and contrary to the ensample, living, and practising of Christ, the apostles, and of the holy prophets. And then, finally, hast thou of our holy father's power, and of his keys, and of his binding and excommunicating, and of his cursing and blessing, with ensamples of every thing.

The use of similitudes.

THE

PRACTICE OF PRELATES.

WHETHER THE KING'S GRACE MAY BE SEPARATED FROM HIS QUEEN, BECAUSE SHE WAS HIS BROTHER'S WIFE.

WILLIAM TYNDALE

TO THE

CHRISTIAN READER.

WHEN the old scribes and pharisees had darkened the Scripture with their traditions, and false interpretations, and wicked persuasions of fleshly wisdom; and shut up the kingdom of heaven, which is God's word, that the people could not enter in unto the knowledge of the true way, as Christ complaineth in the gospel; (Matt. xxiii.) then they sat in the hearts of men with their false doctrine, in the stead of God and his word, and slew the souls of the people to devour their bodies, and to rob them of their worldly substance. But when Christ and John the Baptist had restored the Scripture again unto the true understanding, and had uttered their falsehood, and improved their traditions, and confounded their false interpretations with the clear and evident texts, and with power of the Holy Ghost, and had brought all their juggling and hypocrisy to light; then they gat them unto the elders of the people, and persuaded them, saying, This man is surely of the devil, and his miracles be of the devil no doubt. And these good works which he doth in healing the people, yea, and his preaching against our

Matt. xxiii.

An old practice of the Pharisees, newly practised by the pope and his prelates.

covetousness, are but a cloak to bring him unto his purpose, that when he hath gotten him disciples enough, he may rise against the emperor and make himself king. And then shall the Romans come and take our land from us, and carry away our people, and put other nations in our realm: and so shall we lose all that we have, and the most part of our lives thereto. Take heed, therefore, betimes, while there is remedy, ere he go so far that ye be not able to resist him.

Worldly preferments are lets to true Christianity.

The elders of the people, which were rich and wealthy, though before they in a manner favoured Christ, or at the least way were indifferent, not greatly caring whether God or the devil reigned, so that they might bide in their authority, feared immediately (as Herod did of the loss of his kingdom, when the wise men asked where the newborn king of the Jews was) and conspired with the Scribes and Pharisees against Christ, and took him and brought him unto Pilate, saying,

The Jews falsely accused Christ.

We have found this fellow perverting the people, and forbidding to pay tribute unto Cæsar, and saying that he is king, and moving the people from Galilee unto this place. Then Pilate, though he likewise was before indifferent, put now in fear of the loss of his office, through such persuasions, slew innocent Christ. And in very deed, as the scribes and pharisees were all their lives before blind guides unto the destruction of their souls, even so were they at their last end blind prophets unto the destruction

of their bodies. For after that they had slain Christ and divers of his apostles, and persecuted those poor wretches that believed on him, God, to avenge the poor innocent blood that bare witness unto the truth, poured his wrath among them, that they themselves rose against the emperor. And the Romans came, (according as they blindly prophesied) and slew the most part of them, and carried the rest captive into all nations, and put other nations in the realm. But whose fault was that insurrection against the emperor, and mischief that followed? Chirst's and his apostles, whom they falsely accused beforehand? Nay, Christ taught that they should give Cæsar that pertaineth unto Cæsar, and God that which belonged to God: even that they should give Cæsar lawful their bodily service, and God the heart; and that they should love God's law, and repent of their evil, and come and receive mercy, and let the wrath of God be taken from off them. And the apostles taught that all souls should obey the higher powers, or temporal rulers: but their obstinate malice, that so hardened their hearts that they could not repent, and their railing upon the open and manifest truth, which they could not improve, and resisting the Holy Ghost, and slaying of the preachers of righteousness, brought the wrath of God upon them, and was cause of their utter destruction.

The cruel Jews, by persecuting Christ and his apostles, procured the vengeance of God to lighten upon themselves.

The apostles taught all obedience.

Even so our scribes and pharisees, now that their hypocrisy is disclosed, and their falsehood

so brought to light, that it can no longer be hid, get them unto the elders of the people, the lords, gentlemen, and temporal officers, and to all that love this world as they do; and unto whosoever is great with the king, and unto the king's grace himself; and after the same ensample, and with the same persuasions, cast them into like fear of losing of their worldly dominions, and roar unto them, saying, Ye be negligent, and care nothing at all, but have a good sport that the heretics rail on us. But give them space a while till they be grown unto a multitude, and then ye shall see them preach as fast against you, and move the people against you, and do their best to thrust you down also, and shall cry Havoc, and make all common. O generation of serpents, how well declare ye that ye be the right sons of the father of all lies. For they which ye call heretics preach nothing save that which our Saviour Jesus Christ preached, and his apostles, adding nought thereto, nor plucking ought therefrom, as the Scripture commandeth; and teach all men to repentance to God and his holy law, and faith unto our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the promises of mercy made in him, and obedience unto all that God commandeth to obey. Neither teach we so much as to resist your most cruel tyranny with bodily violence, save with God's word only; intending nothing but to drive you out of the temple of Christ, the hearts, consciences, and souls of men, (wherein with your falsehood ye sit) and to

The practice of our prelates in these days.

The generation of serpents

restore again Jesus our Saviour unto his possession and inheritance, bought with his blood, whence ye have driven him out with your manifold wiles and subtilty.

A good admonition to all blind guides.

Take heed, therefore, wicked prelates, blind leaders of the blind, indurate and obstinate hypocrites, take heed. For if the pharisees for their resisting the Holy Ghost, that is to say, persecuting the open and manifest truth, and slaying the preachers thereof, escaped not the wrath and vengeance of God; how shall ye escape, which are far worse than the pharisees? For though the pharisees had shut up the Scripture and set up their own professions; yet they kept their own professions, for the most part. But ye will be the chiefest in Christ's flock, and yet will not keep one jot of the right way of his doctrine. Ye have thereto set up wonderful professions, to be more holy thereby than ye think that Christ's doctrine is able to make you, and yet keep as little thereof, (except it be with dispensations) insomuch that if a man ask you, what your marvellous fashioned playing coats, and your other puppetry mean, and what your disfigured heads, and all your apish play mean, ye know not: and yet are they but signs of things which ye have professed. Thirdly, ye will be papists and hold of the pope; and yet, look in the pope's law, and ye keep thereof almost nought at all but whatsoever soundeth to make for your bellies, and to maintain your honour, whether in the Scripture, or in your own

Our prelates seek to be chief and highest.

Swarms of sects set up by the pope and his prelates.

Our prelates profess the pope to be their Lord, but yet keep no part of his law.

traditions, or in the pope's law; that ye compel the lay people to observe violently, threatening them with your excommunications and curses, that they shall be damned, both body and soul, if they keep them not. And if that help you not, then ye murder them mercilessly with the sword of the temporal powers, whom ye have made so blind, that they be ready to slay whom ye command, and will not yet hear his cause examined, nor give him room to answer for himself.

The pope's clergy are murderers.

And ye elders of the people, fear ye God also. For as the elders of the Jews which were partakers with the scribes and pharisees in resisting the Holy Ghost, and in persecuting the open truth, and slaying the witnesses thereof, and in provoking the wrath of God, had their part with them also in the day of wrath and sharp vengeance, which shortly after fell upon them, as the nature of the sin against the Holy Ghost is, to have her damnation, not only in the world to come, but also in this life, according unto all the ensamples of the Bible and authentic stories since the world began: even likewise ye, if ye will wink in so open and clear light, and let yourselves be led blindfold, and have your part with the hypocrites in like sin and mischief, be sure ye shall have your part with them in like wrath and vengeance, that is like shortly to fall upon them.

A good admonition to all rulers.

And concerning that the hypocrites put you in fear of the rising of your commons against you, I answer; If ye fear your commons, so tes-

tify ye against yourselves that ye are tyrants. For if your consciences accused you not of evil doing, what need ye to fear your commons? What commons was ever so evil that they rose against their heads for well doing? Moreover, ye witness against yourselves also that ye have no trust in God. For he hath promised the temporal officers assistance, if they minister their offices truly, and to care for the keeping of them, as much as they care for to keep his laws.

The common persuasion used by hypocrites.

The hypocrites haply bid you take an ensample of the uplandish people of Almany, which they lie that Martin Luther stirred up. For first, what one sentence in all the writing of Martin Luther find they that teacheth a man to resist his superior? Moreover, if Martin Luther and the preachers had stirred up the common people of Germany, how happened it that Martin Luther and other like preachers had not perished likewise with them, which are yet all alive at this hour? Ye will ask me, Who stirred them up then? I ask you, Who stirred up the commons of the Jews to resist the emperor, after that the scribes and pharisees, with the elders of the people, had slain Christ and his apostles? Verily, the wrath of God. And even so here, the wrath of God stirred them up; partly to destroy the enemies and persecutors of the truth, and partly to take vengeance on those carnal beasts which abused the gospel of Christ, to make a cloak of it to defend their fleshly liberty, and not to obey it, and to save their souls thereby.

The pope's clergy are liars.

The wrath of God stirreth up the people to destroy the enemies and persecutors of the truth.

If kings, lords, and great men, therefore, fear the loss of this world; let them fear God also. For in fearing God shall they prolong their days upon the earth, and not with fighting against God. The earth is God's only, and his favour and mercy doth prolong the days of kings in their estate, and not their own power and might.

God is the defender of kings and princes.

And let all men (be they never so great) hearken unto this, and let this be an answer unto them. Wicked king Ahab said unto the prophet Elias, Art thou he that troublest Israel? and Elias answered, It is not I that trouble Israel, but thou and thy father's household, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord and follow idols. Even so the preachers of the truth, which rebuke sin, are not the troublers of realms and commonwealths, but they that do wickedly; and namely, high prelates and mighty princes, which walk without the fear of God and live abominably, corrupting the common people with their ensample. They be they that bring the wrath of God on all realms, and trouble all commonwealths with war, dearth, poverty, pestilence, evil luck, and all misfortune.

Wicked kings and rulers that persecute God's ministers, are the troublers of themselves and their realm, and not the preachers.

And unto all subjects be it said, if they profess the law of God and faith of the Lord Jesus, and will be Christ's disciples; then let them remember that there was never man so great a subject as Christ was; there was never creature that suffered so great unright, so patiently, and so meekly as he. Therefore, whatsoever they have been in times past, let them now think that it is

As many as will be the disciples of Christ, must learn of him meekness and obedience to the higher powers.

their parts to be subject in the lowest kind of subjection, and to suffer all things patiently. If the high powers be cruel unto you with natural cruelty, then with softness and patience ye shall either win them or mitigate their fierceness. If they join them unto the pope, and persecute you for your faith and hope which ye have in the Lord Jesus; then call to mind that ye be chosen to suffer here with Christ, that ye may joy with them in the life to come, with joy everlasting, that shall infinitely pass this your short pain here. If they command that God forbiddeth, or forbid that God commandeth, then answer as the apostles did; (Acts v.) That God must be obeyed more than man. If they compel you to suffer unright, then Christ shall help you to bear, and his Spirit shall comfort you. But only see that neither they put you from God's word, nor ye resist them with bodily violence. But abide patiently awhile, till the hypocrisy of hypocrites be slain with the sword of God's word, and until the word be openly published and witnessed unto the powers of the world, that their blindness may be without excuse. And then will God awake as a fierce lion, against those cruel wolves which devour his lambs, and will play with the hypocrites, and compass them in their own wiles; and send them a dasing in the head, and a swimming in their brains; and destroy them with their own counsel. And then those malicious and wilful blind persecutors, which refusing mercy when they were called

Ye must suffer with Christ, that ye may joy with him in the life to come.

God will be revenged upon cruel tyrants.

thereto, chose rather to have their part with hypocrites in shedding of innocent blood, shall be partakers with them also in having their own blood shed again, God giving an occasion that one wicked shall destroy another.

In the treatise following is shewed who are the causers of insurrection.

And as for wickedness, whence it springeth, and who is the cause of all insurrection, and of the fall of princes, and the shortening of their days upon the earth, thou shalt see in the glass following, which I have set before thine eyes, not to resist the hypocrites with violence (which vengeance pertaineth unto God); but that thou mightest see their wicked ways and abominable paths, to withdraw thyself from after them, and to come again to Christ, and walk in his light, and to follow his steps, and to commit the keeping both of thy body and soul also unto him, and unto the Father through him, whose name be glorious for ever. Amen.

PRELATES, APPOINTED TO PREACH CHRIST, MAY NOT LEAVE GOD'S WORD, AND MINISTER TEMPORAL OFFICES; BUT OUGHT TO TEACH THE LAY PEOPLE THE RIGHT WAY, AND LET THEM ALONE WITH ALL TEMPORAL BUSINESS.

OUR Saviour Jesus Christ answered Pilate, (John xviii.) that his kingdom was not of this world. And Matthew, in the tenth, he saith, The disciple is not greater than his master; but it ought to suffice the disciple that he be as his master is. Wherefore if Christ's kingdom be not of this world, nor any of his disciples may be otherwise than he was, then Christ's vicars, which minister his kingdom here in his bodily absence, and have the oversight of his flock, may be none emperors, kings, dukes, lords, knights, temporal judges, or any temporal officer, or under false names have any such dominion, or minister any such office as requireth violence.

John xviii.

Matt. x.

The ministers of Christ's doctrine may not have any temporal offices.

And (Matt. vi.) No man can serve two masters; Where Christ concludeth saying: Ye cannot serve God and mammon; that is riches, covetousness, ambition, and temporal dignities.

Matt. vi.

And (Matt. xx.) Christ called his disciples unto him, and said: Ye know that the lords of the heathen people have dominion over them; and they that be great do exercise power over them. Howbeit, it shall not be so among you; but whosoever will be great among you shall be your minister; and he that will be chief shall be your servant: even as the Son of man came not that men should minister unto him, but for to minister and give his life for the redemption of many. Wherefore the officers in Christ's kingdom may have no temporal dominion or jurisdiction, nor execute any temporal authority or law of

Matt. xx.

The officers in Christ's kingdom may have no temporal dominion.

violence, nor may have any like manner among them. But clean contrary: they must cast themselves down under all, and become servants unto all, suffer of all, and bear the burthen of every man's infirmities, and go before them, and fight for them against the world with the sword of God's word, even unto the death, after the ensample of Christ.

Matt. xviii. And (Matt. xviii.) when the disciples asked who should be greatest in the kingdom of heaven, Christ called a young child unto him, and set him in the midst among them, saying: Except ye turn back, and become as children, ye shall not enter in the kingdom of heaven. Now young children bear no rule one over another, but all is fellowship among them. And he said, moreover, Whosoever humbleth himself after the ensample of this child, he is greatest in the kingdom of heaven; that is, to be (as concerning ambition and worldly desire) so childish, that thou couldst not heave thyself above thy brother, is the very bearing of rule, and to be great in Christ's kingdom. And to describe the very fashion of the greatness of his kingdom, he said, He that receiveth one such child in my name, receiveth me. What is that to receive a child in Christ's name? verily, to submit, to meek, and to humble thyself, and to cast thyself under all men; and to consider all men's infirmities and weaknesses; and to help to heal their diseases with the word of truth, and to live purely, that they see no contrary ensample in thee, to whatsoever thou teachest them in Christ; that thou put no stumbling block before them, to make them fall while they be yet young and weak in the faith: but that thou abstain, as Paul teacheth, (1 Thess. v.) *Ab omni specie mala*, from all that might seem evil, or whereof a man might surmise amiss; and that thou so love them, that whatsoever gift of God in thee is, thou think the same theirs, and their food, and for their sakes given unto thee, as the truth is, and that all their infirmities be thine, and that thou feel them, and that thine heart mourn for them; and that with all thy

To receive a child in Christ's name, what it is.

1 Thess. v.

power thou help to amend them, and cease not to cry to God for them, neither day, nor night: and that thou let nothing be found in thee, that any man may rebuke, but whatsoever thou teachest them, that be thou: and that thou be not a wolf in a lamb's skin, as our holy father the pope is, which cometh unto us in a name of hypocrisy, and in the title of cursed Cham, or Ham, calling himself *Servus servorum*, the servant of all servants, and is yet found *tyrannus tyrannorum*, of all tyrants the most cruel. This is to receive young children in Christ's name; and to receive young children, in Christ's name, is to bear rule in the kingdom of Christ. Thus ye see, that Christ's kingdom is altogether spiritual, and the bearing of rule in it is clean contrary unto the bearing of rule temporally. Wherefore none that beareth rule in it may have any temporal jurisdiction, or minister any temporal office that requireth violence to compel withal.

The pope is a wolf in a lamb's skin.

PETER WAS NOT GREATER THAN THE OTHER APOSTLES, BY ANY AUTHORITY GIVEN HIM OF CHRIST.

THEY say that Peter was chief of the apostles, verily, as Apelles was called chief of painters, for his excellent cunning above others, even so Peter may be called chief of the apostles, for his activity and boldness above the other: but that Peter had any authority or rule over his brethren and fellow apostles, is false, and contrary to the Scripture. Christ forbade it the last, even before his passion, and in divers times before, and taught alway the contrary, as I have rehearsed.

Why Peter was called chief of the apostles.

Peter had no authority above the rest of the apostles.

Thou wilt say: Thou canst not see how there should be any good order in that kingdom, where none were better than other, and where the superior had not a law and au-

thority to compel the inferior with violence. The world, truly, can see no other way to rule than with violence. For there no man abstaineth from evil, but for fear; because the love of righteousness is not written in their hearts. And therefore, the pope's kingdom is of the world. For there one sort are your grace, your holiness, your fatherhood: another, my lord bishop, my lord abbot, my lord prior: another, master doctor, father, bachelor, master parson, master vicar, and at the last cometh in simple sir John. And every man reigneth over other with might, and have every ruler his prison, his jailor, his chains, his torments, even so much as the friars' observants observe that rule, and compel every man other, with violence above the cruelness of the heathen tyrants: so that what cometh once in, may never out for fear of telling tales out of school. They rule over the body with violence, and compel it, whether the heart will or not, to observe things of their own making.

The pope's kingdom is of the world.

A rabble of the pope's guard, that wear his badge.

But in the kingdom of God it is contrary. For the Spirit that bringeth them thither, maketh them willing, and giveth them lust unto the law of God: and love compelleth them to work, and love maketh every man's good, and all that he can do common unto his neighbour's need. And as every man is strong in that kingdom, so love compelleth him to take the weak by the hand, and to help him, and to take him that cannot go upon his shoulders and bear him. And so to do service unto the weaker, is to bear rule in that kingdom.

The ministers of the kingdom of God must govern with all love, meekness, and patience.

And because Peter did exceed the other apostles in fervent service toward his brethren, therefore is he called, not in the Scripture, but in the use of speaking, the chiefest of the apostles, and not that he had any dominion over them. Of which truth thou mayest see also the practice in the Acts of the Apostles, after the resurrection. For when Peter had been and preached in the house of Cornelius, an heathen man, the other that were circumcised chode him, because he had been in an uncircumcised

Peter in use of speaking for his diligence, is called (but not in the Scripture) the chief of the apostles.

man's house, and had eaten with him, for it was forbidden in the law, neither wist they yet that the heathen should be called. And Peter was fain to give accounts unto them, (which is no token of superiority) and to shew them how he was warned of the Holy Ghost so to do, (Acts xi.)

Peter was enforced to render an account to his brethren, of his doings.

And (Acts xv.) when a council was gathered of the apostles and disciples, about the circumcision of the heathen, Peter brought forth, not his commandment and the authority of his vicarship, but the miracle that the Holy Ghost had shewed for the heathen, how at the preaching of the gospel the Holy Ghost had lighted upon them, and purified their hearts through faith; and therefore proved that they ought not to be circumcised.

Peter shewed no part of his authority, but the mighty power of God.

And Paul and Barnabas brought forth the miracles also that God had shewed by them among the heathen, through preaching of faith. And then James brought forth a prophecy of the Old Testament, for the said part: and therewith the adversaries gave over their hold, and they concluded with one assent, by the authority of the Scripture, and of the Holy Ghost, that the heathen should not be circumcised; and not by the commandment of Peter, under pain of cursing, excommunication, and interdicting, and like bugs, to make fools and children afraid withal.

All the apostles allege the authority of God in Christ, and no authority of their own.

And (Acts viii.) Peter was sent of the other apostles unto the Samaritans, which is an evident token that he had no jurisdiction over them, (for then they could not have sent him,) but rather (as the truth is,) that the congregation had authority over him, and over all other private persons, to admit them for ministers, and send them forth to preach, whithersoever the Spirit of God moved them, and as they saw occasion.

Peter was sent by the other apostles to preach in Samaria.

And in the Epistle unto the Galatians thou seest also, how Paul corrected Peter, when he walked not the straight way after the truth of the gospel. So now thou seest that in the kingdom of Christ and in his church or congregation, and in his councils, the ruler is the Scripture ap-

Gal. ii.

Paul rebuked Peter to his face.

Scripture is the chiefest of the apostles.

We give the ministers reverence, not for themselves, but because of the word that they minister.

proved through the miracles of the Holy Ghost: and men be servants only, and Christ is the head, and we all brethren: and when we call men our heads, that we do not because they be shorn or shaven, or because of their names, parson, vicar, bishop, pope; but only because of the word which they preach. If they err from the word, then may whosoever God moveth his heart, play Paul and correct him. If he will not obey the Scripture, then have his brethren authority by the Scripture to put him down, and send him out of Christ's church among the heretics, which prefer their false doctrine above the true word of Christ.

HOW THE GOSPEL PUNISHETH TRESPASSERS, AND HOW BY THE GOSPEL WE OUGHT TO GO TO LAW WITH OUR ADVERSARIES.

THOUGH that they of Christ's congregation be all willing; yet, because that the most part is alway weak, and because also that the occasions of the world be ever many and great, insomuch that Christ, which wist all thing before hand, saith, (Matt. xviii.) Woe be unto the world by reason of occasions of evil: and saith also, that it cannot be avoided, but that occasions shall come, therefore it cannot be chosen, but that many shall overfall when a weak brother hath trespassed: by what law shall he be punished? verily, by the law of love, whose properties thou readest in the 1st Cor. xiii. If the love of God, which is my profession, be written in mine heart, it will not let me hate my weak brother when he hath offended me, no more than natural love will let a mother hate her child when it trespasseth against her. My weak brother hath offended me,—he is fallen, his weakness hath overthrown him: it is not right by the law of love, that I should now

Matt. xviii.

Our brethren when they offend, must be reformed by love, and not by rigour.

fall upon him, and tread him down in the mire and destroy him utterly: but it is right, by the law of love, that I run to him and help him up again.

How we may go to the law, without trespasses.

By what process we should go to law with our trespassers, Christ teacheth us Matt. xviii. Tell him his fault between him and thee with all meekness, remembering thou art a man, and mayest fall also: if he repent and thou love him, ye shall soon agree, and then forgive him. And when thou forgivest thy neighbour, then thou art sure that God forgiveth thee thy trespasses by his holy promise, (Matt. vi.) If he hear thee not, then take a neighbour or two. If he hear them not, then tell the congregation where thou art: and let the preacher pronounce God's law against him, and let the sad and discreet men rebuke him and exhort him unto repentance. If he repent, and thou also love him according to thy profession, ye shall soon agree. If he hear not the congregation, then let him be taken as an heathen. If he that is offended be weak also, then let them that be strong go between, and help them. And in like manner if any sin against the doctrine of Christ, and the profession of a Christian man, so that he be a drunkard and an whore-keeper, or whatsoever open sin he do, or if he teach false learning, then let such be rebuked openly before the congregation, and by the authority of Scripture. And if they repent not, let them be put out of the congregation as heathen people. If they then be not ashamed, we have no remedy, but patiently to abide what God will do; and to pray in the meantime, that God will open their hearts, and give them repentance. Other law than this Christ's gospel knoweth not, nor the officers thereof.

Matt. vi.

Open and common offenders are to be rebuked openly.

The kingdom of Christ is spiritual.

It is manifest, therefore, that the kingdom of Christ is a spiritual kingdom, which no man can minister well, and a temporal kingdom too, as it is sufficiently proved; because that no man which putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is apt for the kingdom of heaven, as Christ answered (Luke ix.) unto him that would have followed

him, but would first have taken leave of his household. If a man put his hand to the plough of God's word to preach it, and look also unto worldly business, his plough will surely go awry. And therefore, saith Christ unto another, that would likewise follow him, but desired first to go and bury his father; Let the dead bury the dead: but come thou and shew, or preach the kingdom of God. As who should say, He that will preach the kingdom of God (which is Christ's gospel) truly, must have his heart nowhere else.

Luke ix.

WHAT OFFICERS THE APOSTLES ORDAINED IN CHRIST'S CHURCH, AND WHAT THEIR OFFICES WERE TO DO.

Officers first ordained in Christ's church.

WHEREFORE the apostles following and obeying the rule, doctrine, and commandment of our Saviour Jesus Christ, their master, ordained in his kingdom and congregation two officers; one called, after the Greek word, bishop, in English an overseer: which same was called priest after the Greek, elder in English because of his age, discretion, and sadness; for he was as nigh as could be alway an elderly man: as thou seest both in the New and Old Testament also, how the officers of the Jews be called the elders of the people, because (as thou mayest well think) they were over old men, as nigh as could be. For unto age do men naturally obey, and unto age doth God command to give honour, saying, (Lev. xix.) Rise up before the hoary head, and reverence the face of the old man. And also experience of things and coldness, without which it is hard to rule well, is more in age than in youth. And this overseer did put his hands unto the plough of God's word, and fed Christ's flock, and tended them only, without looking unto any other business in the world.

Bishop.

Honour the aged.

In the aged is experience.

Another officer they chose, and called him deacon after the Greek, a minister in English, to minister the alms of the people unto the poor and needy. For in the congregation of Christ, love maketh every man's gift and goods common unto the necessity of his neighbour. Wherefore, the love of God being yet hot in the hearts of men, the rich that had the substance of this world's goods, brought of their abundance great plenty unto the sustentation of the poor, and delivered it unto the hands of the deacons. And unto the help of the deacons were widows of sixty years old; holy, virtuous, and destitute of friends, chosen to tend and wait upon the sick, and to wash the saints' feet, that came from one congregation unto another, whether for any business, or for fear of persecution. And those common goods of the church, offered for the succour of the poor, grew in all churches so exceedingly, that in some congregation it was so much, that it was sufficient to maintain an host of men. Insomuch, that tyrants did ofttimes persecute the Christian for those common goods, as thou seest in the life of St. Laurence, the deacon of Rome.

Deacon.

In the primitive church they chose deacons to minister to the poor.

Widows.

Common goods.

The great and fervent charity in the primitive church

And, moreover, the covetousness of the prelates was the decay of Christendom, and the increasing of the kingdom of Mahomet. For by the first springing of the empire of Mahomet, the emperors, kings, and great lords of Christendom had given their treasure so mightily unto the church, what after great victories, and what at their deaths, that their successors were not able to maintain battle against the Saracens and Turks, (for the world was not yet in such captivity that they could make their subjects swear on books what they were worth, and raise up taxes at their pleasure) so that a certain writer of stories saith, the prelates gaped when the laymen would take the war upon them against the Turks; and the laymen looked when the prelates would lay out their money to make the war withal, and not to spend it in worse use, as the most part of them were wont to do: spending the money that was

The covetousness of the prelates was the decay of Christendom, and the increasing of the kingdom of Mahomet.

The proud clergy, how they spent the treasure of the poor.

gotten with alms and blood of martyrs upon goodly plate, and great vessels of gold, and silver, without care of things to come, despising God, whom they worshipped for their belly's sake only, and also man. Moreover, it was the custom even then, saith the author, to ask what the bishoprick was worth: yea, and to leave a worse for a better, or to keep both with a union. And at the same time, Isacius, the deputy of the emperor, came to Rome to confirm the pope in his see with the emperor's authority; for the election of the pope was then nothing worth, except it had been confirmed by the emperor: and he found so great treasure in the church of St. John Lateran, that for disdain which he had, that they should have such treasure in store, and not to help the emperor in his wars against the Turks, seeing his soldiers lacked wages, he took it away with violence against the will of the prelates, of which he exiled some, and paid his own men of war with one part, and took another part unto himself, and sent the third part unto the emperor; which must needs have been a great treasure in one church.

Isacius.

The election was confirmed by the emperor.

Note here the treasure that the bishops of Rome had at this time.

BY WHAT MEANS THE PRELATES FELL FROM CHRIST.

THE office of a bishop was a room at the beginning that no man coveted, and that no man durst take upon him, save he only which loved Christ better than his own life. For as Christ saith, that no man might be his disciple, except that he were ready to forsake life and all: even so might that officer be sure that it would cost him his life at one time or another, for bearing record unto the truth. But after that the multitude of the Christian were increased, and many great men had received the faith, then both lands, and rents, as well as other goods were

The bishop of Rome in the primitive church was a dangerous office.

given unto the maintenance, as well of the clergy, as of the poor: because they gave then no tithes to the priests, nor yet now do, save in certain countries. For it is too much to give alms, offerings, lands, and tithes also. And then the bishops made them substitutes under them to help them, which they called priest, and kept the name of bishop unto themselves.

At the first entry of Christ's church, there was no tithes paid to the ministers.

But out of the deacons sprang all the mischief. For through their hands went all things: they ministered unto the clergy, they ministered unto the poor, they were in favour with great and small. And when the bishop's office began to have rest, and to be honourable, then the deacons, through favour and gifts, climbed up thereunto, as lightly he that hath the old abbot's treasure succeedeth with us. And by the means of their practice and acquaintance in the world, they were more subtle and worldly wise than the old bishops, and less learned in God's word, as our prelates are, when they come from stewardships in gentlemen's houses, and from surveying of great men's lands, lord's secrets, king's counsels, ambassadorship from war, and ministering all worldly matters, yea, worldly mischief: and yet now they come not thence, but receive all, and bide there still; yea, they have enacted by plain parliament that they must bide in the court still, or else they may not have plurality of benefices. And then by little and little they enhanced themselves, and turned all to themselves, minishing the poor people's part, and increasing their's, and joining acquaintance with great men, and with their power climbed up, and entitled them to the choosing and confirming of the pope and all bishops, to flatter and purchase favour and defenders: trusting more unto their worldly wisdom than unto the doctrine of Christ, which is the wisdom of God, and unto the defence of man than of God. Then while they that had the plough by the tail looked back, the plough went awry, faith waxed feeble and fainty, love waxed cold, the Scripture waxed dark, Christ was no more seen: he was in

All corruption of the church came first out of the deacons.

Money purchased preferment

The prelates must bide still in the court.

How the clergy first by riches, and then by flattery, advanced themselves.

When the prelates waxed rich, then they disputed who should be highest.

the mount with Moses, and therefore the bishops would have a god upon the earth whom they might see, and thereupon they began to dispute who should be greatest.

HOW THE BISHOP OF ROME BECAME GREATER THAN OTHER, AND CALLED HIMSELF POPE.

Jerusalem was the first seat of our high bishop.

THEN, quoth worldly wisdom, Jerusalem must be the greatest, for that was Christ's seat: *Et factum est:* so it came to pass for a season. And in conclusion, where a great city was and much riches, there was the bishop ever greater than his fellows. Alexandria in Egypt, and Antioch in Greece, were greater than their neighbours. Then those decaying, Constantinople and Rome waxed great, and strove who should be greater. And Constantinople said, Where the emperor is, there ought to be the greatest seat and chiefest bishop. For the emperor lay most at Constantinople, because it was (I suppose) nigh the midst of the empire, therefore I must be the greatest, said the bishop of Constantinople. Nay, quoth the bishop of Rome, though the emperor lie never so much at Constantinople, yet he is called emperor of Rome, and Rome is the head of the empire; wherefore of right I must be the father of all waten. And thus, whether they challenged their title by the authority of God or man; or by Peter or polling, it was all one, so they might be greatest.

Constantinople.

Rome.

How Rome came to be the chiefest city.

Rome the seat and mother of all wickedness.

And great intercession was made unto the emperors of both parties; but in vain a great season; for the emperors stopped their ears at such ambitious requests long time, till at the last there came an emperor called Phocas, which lay long in Italy, and was a very soft man, and a prey for prelates. In whose time Boniface III. was bishop of Rome, a man ambitious and greedy upon honour,

Phocas.

Pope Boniface the Third.

and of a very subtle wit, nothing inferior unto Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York. This Boniface was great with the emperor Phocas, and with his wily persuasions and great intercession together, obtained of Phocas to be called the chiefest of all bishops, and that his church should be the chief church. Which authority, as soon as he had purchased, he sent immediately his commandment, with the emperor's power, unto all the bishops of Almany, commanding that every bishop should call all the priests of his diocese, and charge them that every man should put away his wife, under pain of excommunication; which tyranny, though great resistance was made against it, he yet brought to pass with the emperor's sword, and his subtilty together. For the bishops were rich, and durst not displease the pope for fear of the emperor.

Phocas the emperor first gave privilege to the bishop of Rome to be the chief bishop.

The chastity of priests, how it came up.

As soon as Nimrod, that mighty hunter, had caught this prey, that he had compelled all bishops to be under him, and to swear obedience unto him, then he began to be great in the earth, and called himself Papa, with this interpretation, Father of fathers. And when the pope had exalted his throne above his fellows, then the unity that ought to be among brethren in Christ's church brake; and division began between us and the Greeks; which Greeks (I suppose) were at that time the one half of Christendom. And when any pope since exhorteth them to unity, they answer, That he which will reign over his brethren with violence, breaketh unity, and not they; and that they will not be under his tyranny, whereunto he calleth them under a colour of unity. And from henceforth, with the help of his bishops, which were sworn to be true liegemen unto him, when beforetime they were admitted to their bishoprics of the emperors and kings, he began to lay a bait to catch the whole empire into his hands also.

Note here the climbing up of the pope.

Division in the church.

The Greeks will not be under the pope's tyranny.

BY WHAT MEANS THE POPE INVADED THE EMPIRE.

Mahomet and the pope began at one time.

AT that same season, Mahomet, the author of the sect of the Turks and Saracens, began.. And as soon as he had got much people unto him with wiles and feigned miracles, he invaded the empire of Rome in those quarters. And look how busy Mahomet was in those parts, so busy was the pope in these quarters to invade the empire, (with the help of his sworn bishops, which preached all of none other God than the pope,) while the emperor was occupied afar off in resisting of Mahomet.

Gregory the pope came up by the Frenchmen, and by them he continueth his estate still.

And within few years after, when the kings of Italy now and then vexed our holy fathers for their covetous ambition, then Gregory III. joined amity with the Frenchmen, and called them to help, by whose power they gat all they have, and also maintain it unto this day. For if any man, since that time, either displeased the pope never so little, he immediately cursed him, and excommunicate him, and proclaimed him no right inheritor, and that it was not lawful to hold of him, and absolved his lords and subjects of their allegiance, and sent his blessing unto the French king, and remission of sins to go and conquer his land; the pope and French king alway dividing the spoil between them: the bishops, and all that served God for the belly, preaching the pope's might, how that he had power so to do, and all things to bind and loose at his will; wresting the Scriptures to serve for their purpose, corrupting all the laws, both of God and man, to prove his godhead withal.

Pope Zacharias the First.

Hildericus.

THEN came pope Zacharias the First, in whose time Hildericus was king of France, a man that governed his realm (as it oft chanceth) by a deputy, (as persons preach)

one Pepin, a lord of his own, and his sworn subject. This Pepin sent an holy bishop to pope Zacharias, that he should help to make him king of France, and he would be his defender in Italy; (as the manner of scaled horses is, the one to claw the other) and Zacharias answered, that he was more worthy to be king that ruled the realm and took the labours, than an idle shadow that went up and down, and did nought. And so upon that the lords of France, by the persuasions of the prelates, consented unto Pepin, and thrust down their right king unto whom they were sworn, and made a monk of him. And both the lords, and also Pepin, took dispensations for their oaths of our holy father, and were forsworn. Thus was our holy father the pope crept up into the consciences of men with his false interpretation of binding and loosing, good eight hundred years ago.

Pepin.

The pope put down the right French king, and set up Pepin.

The king of France was made a monk.

THEN came pope Stephanus the Second, out of whose hands Estulphus, king of Lombardy, would fain have scratched somewhat, for he thought that the holy fathers gathered too fast, and had already raked too much unto them. But the new king, Pepin of France, warned of his duty and service promised, and mindful of old friendship, and hoping for part of the prey, came to succour the pope. And when he had subdued the king of Lombardy, he gave unto our holy father, or rather to St. Peter, that hungry beggar, great provinces and countries in Lombardy and in Italy, with the Isle Corsica, and many great cities, of which some pertained unto the emperor, being then at Constantinople; and yet the emperor had sent before unto king Pepin that he should not give of his towns unto the pope. But Pepin answered that he came for the same intent, and to enhance our holy father. And our holy father received them.

Pope Steven the Second.

Estulphus, king of Lombardy.

How the pope was advanced.

And thus the empire was divided in two parts: the pope and the French king parting the one half between them. And as the emperor decayed, the pope grew.

By what means Mahomet waxed great.

And as the pope grew, so the sect of Mahomet grew; for the emperor (half his empire lost) was not able to defend himself against the infidels. And the pope would suffer no help hence to come, for two causes; one, lest the emperor should recover his empire again; and another because the prelates of the Greeks would not submit themselves unto his godhead, as the prelates of these quarters of the world had done.

Carolus Magnus.

AFTER Pepin, reigned his son the great Charles, whom we call Charlemaigne, which knew no other God but the pope, nor any other way to heaven than to do the pope pleasure. For the pope served him for two purposes; one, to dispense with him for whatsoever mischief he did; another, to be stablished in the empire by his help, for without his favour he wist it would not be; so great a god was our holy father become already in those days.

The pope become a great god on the earth.

Desiderius.

This pope Stephen in his latter days fell at variance with Desiderius, king of Lombardy, about the archbishop of Ravenna.

Pope Adrian the First.

AFTER Stephen succeeded Adrian the First, with whom Desiderius, the king of Lombardy, would fain have made peace, but pope Adrian would not. And shortly upon that, the brother of this Charlemaigne, which reigned with him in half the dominion of France, died, whose wife, for fear of Charles, fled with her two sons unto Desiderius, king of Lombardy, for succour. Desiderius was glad of their coming, trusting by the means of these two children to obtain favour among many of the Frenchmen, and so to be able to resist Charles if he would meddle, and to bring Italy unto the right emperor again, and would have had that pope Adrian should have anointed them kings in their father's room. But Adrian refused that to do, (for he saw Charles mighty and meet for his purpose) and was as wily as Desiderius, and thought to keep out the right emperor, and be emperor of Rome himself, though he

The pope purposed to be emperor himself.

gave another the name for a season, till a more convenient time came.

Then Desiderius warred upon the pope's jurisdiction. And Adrian sent to Charles. And Charles came with his army, and drave out Desiderius and his son, which son fled unto the right emperor to Constantinople. And Charles and the pope divided the kingdom of Lombardy between them. And Charles came to Rome. And the pope and he were sworn together, that whosoever should be enemy unto the one, should be enemy also unto the other.

Charles and the pope divided the kingdom of Lombardy.

The pope gathered a council, and gave unto Charles the empire of Rome.

This Adrian gathered a council immediately of an hundred and fifty-three bishops, abbots, and religious persons, and gave unto Charles and his successors the empire of Rome, and ordained that the right and power to choose the pope should be his, and that no bishop should be consecrated till he had obtained of him both consent, and the ornaments of a bishop also, (which they now buy of the pope) under pain of cursing, and to be delivered unto black Satan the devil, and loss of goods. (Dist. lxiii.)

Leo the Third, pope.

And Leo the Third, which succeeded Adrian, confirmed the same, and crowned Charles emperor of Rome, for like service done unto him. And then there was appointment made between the emperors of Constantinople and of Rome, and the places assigned how far the borders of either empire should reach. And thus of one empire was made twain. And therefore the empire of Constantinople, for lack of help, was shortly after subdued of the Turks.

Of one whole empire, the pope made two.

Most Christian king.

The said Leo also called Charles the most Christian king, because of his good service: which title the kings of France use unto this day, though many of them be never so unchristened: as the last Leo called our king the defender of the faith. And as this pope Clemens calleth the duke of Guelder the eldest son of the holy see of Rome, for no other virtue nor property that any man can know, save that he hath been all his life a pick-quarrel,

Defender of the faith.

The eldest son of the holy seat.

and a cruel and unrighteous bloodshedder, as his father that sitteth in that holy see is. So now above seven hundred years to be a Christian king, is to fight for the pope, and most Christian that most fighteth, and slayeth most men for his pleasure.

Who is a Christian king.

The life of Charles.

This Charles was a great conqueror; that is to say, a great tyrant, and overcame many nations with the sword: and as the Turk compelleth us unto his faith, so he compelled them with violence unto the faith of Christ, say the stories. But (alas) Christ's faith, whereunto the Holy Ghost only draweth men's hearts through preaching the word of truth, and holy living according thereto, he knew not; but unto the pope he subdued them, and unto this superstitious idolatry, which we use clean contrary unto the Scripture.

Charles compelled all men to the obedience of the pope.

Moreover, at the request and great desire of his mother, he married the daughter of Desiderius, king of Lombardy; but after one year, unto the great displeasure of his mother, he put her away again; but not without the false subtilty of the pope, thou mayest be sure, neither without his dispensation. For how could Charles have made for the pope's pleasure with Desiderius her father, and have thrust him out of his kingdom, and banished his son for ever, dividing his kingdom between him and the pope, as long as she had been his wife?

Practice.

The pope is a dispenser and breaker of the bonds of matrimony.

And, therefore, the pope, with his authority of binding and loosing, loosed the bonds of that matrimony, (as he hath many other since, and daily doth for like purposes) to the intent that he would with the sword of the French king put the kingdom of Lombardy, that was somewhat too nigh him, out of the way: by the reason of whose kings his fatherhood could not reign alone, nor assign or sell the bishopries of Italy to whom he lusted, and at his pleasure.

Charles a filthy whoremonger.

He kept also four concubines, and lay with two of his own daughters thereto. And though he wist how that it was not unknown, yet his lusts

being greater than great Charles, he would not wete, nor yet refrain.

And beyond all that, the saying is, that in his old age a whore had so bewitched him with a ring and a pearl in it, and I wot not what imagery graven therein, that he went a salt after her as a dog after a bitch, and the dotehead was beside himself, and whole out of his mind: insomuch that when the whore was dead, he could not depart from the dead corpse, but caused it to be embalmed, and to be carried with him whithersoever he went, so that all the world wondered at him: till at the last his lords accombered with carrying her from place to place, and ashamed that so old a man, so great an emperor, and such a most Christian king, on whom and whose deeds every man's eyes were set, should dote on a dead whore, took counsel what should be the cause. And it was concluded that it must needs be by enchantment. Then they went unto the coffin, and opened it, and sought and found this ring on her finger; which one of the lords took off, and put it on his own finger. When the ring was off, he commanded to bury her, regarding her no longer. Nevertheless, he cast a phantasy unto this lord, and began to dote as fast on him, so that he might never be out of sight; but where our Charles was, there must that lord also be; and what Charles did, that must he be privy unto: until that this lord perceiving that it came because of this enchanted ring, for very pain and tediousness, took and cast it into a well at Acon, in Dutchland. And after that the ring was in the well, the emperor could never depart from the town; but in the said place where the ring was cast, though it were a foul morass, yet he built a goodly monastery in the worship of our lady, and thither brought relics, from whence he could get them, and pardons to sanctify the place, and to make it more haunted. And there he lieth, and is a saint, as right is. For he did for Christ's vicar as much as the great Turk for Mahomet; but to save his holiness, that he might be canonized for a saint, they feign

Charles hath his whore carried with him.

This was an emperor for the pope's own mouth.

A doting emperor.

The pope made this lecherous emperor a saint.

in his life, that his abiding there so continually, was for the hot-baths' sakes, which be there.

Lewis the mild.

AFTER Charlemaigne, Lewis the mild was emperor, which was a very patient man, (another Phocas, and another prey for the pope) and so meek and soft, that scarcely he could be angry at any thing at all. When our holy fathers had seen his water, and spied what complexion he was, they chose Stephen the Fourth, of that name, pope, without his knowledge, and bad him neither good morrow, nor good even, nor once God speed about the matter, against their own grant unto his father for his good service. And his softness was yet somewhat displeased therewith, inasmuch as the election of the pope pertained unto his right. But the pope sent ambassadors, and wrote all the excuses that he could, and came after himself to France to him, and peaced him, and crowned him there emperor, and passed the time a season with him, and they became very familiar together.

Pope Steven the Fourth.

The pope elected and set up without the assent of the emperor.

Pope Paschal.

After that they chose Paschalis pope of the same manner; which Paschalis sent immediately legates unto the emperor soft Lewis, excusing himself, and saying that it was not his fault, but that the clergy and the common people had drawn him thereto with violence against his will. Then the emperor was content for that once, and bad they should no more do so, but that the old ordinance ought to be kept. The softness of this Lewis did him much care. For he was after prisoned of his own son, with help of pope Gregory the Fourth.

The pope, how he abused the emperor.

The pope sitteth not by the emperor.

After this man's days, the popes never regarded the emperors, nor did the clergy of Rome sue any more to the emperor, either for the election or confirmation of the pope. Moreover, after this Lewis there was never emperor in Christendom of any power, or able of his own might to correct any pope; neither was there any king that could correct the outrageous vices of the spirituality of his own realm after this time. For this Lewis

left three sons, among which he divided the realm of France and all Dutchland: which same, for pride and disdain that one should have more than another, fell together (as we say) by the ears, each destroying other's power, so that France was afterward of no might to do any great thing. And then the pope reigned in Italy alone, without care of any emperor: insomuch that Nicholas the First decreed that no secular prince or emperor should have ought to do, or be at the councils of the clergy.

Alone.

Pope Nicholas the First.

And after that Adrian the Second was chosen pope, the emperor's deputy being in Rome, and not once spoke to of the matter.

Pope Adrian the Second.

And when the emperor's ambassadors disdained, they answered, Who can resist the rage of the people? and prayed them to be content, and to salute him as pope. And Adrian the Third decreed that they should not abide or tarry for the emperor's confirmation or authority in choosing the pope, and that the pope only should call a general council, and not the emperor; or if the emperor would presume that to do, the council should be of none effect, though all the prelates of Chistendom were there, and though whatsoever they did were but God's word. So mighty was the beast now waxed when he once began to reign alone. And from this time hitherto perished the power of the emperors and the virtue of the popes, saith Platina, in the life of popes. For since that time, as there was none emperor of might, so was there no pope of any virtue.

Pope Adrian the Third.

The virtue of the pope and power of the emperor perished together.

After this Lewis, the empire of France, and of all Dutchland, was divided between his three sons; which, as I said, fought one with another, and destroyed the strength of the empire of France. And from that time to this, which is above seven hundred years, thou shalt read of few popes that have not led their lives in bloodshedding, insomuch that if thou consider the stories well, thou shalt easily perceive that there hath been slain about their cause

The popes have been only bloodshedders above seven hundred years.

far above forty hundred thousand men; beside that there hath been but few princes in Christendom that hath not been busied and cumbered a great part of his life about their matter. Either in wars, begun at their setting on; either in ceasing schisms or division that hath been among the clergy, who should be pope; or striving of bishops, who should be greatest, as between the bishop of York and Canterbury in England, and between the bishops of England and Wales; whereof all the chronicles be full; or in reforming friars or monks, or in slaying them that uttered their false hypocrisy with God's word.

All Christendom hath been troubled with the popes' causes.

When the emperor was down, and no man in Christendom of any power to be feared, then every nation fell upon other, and all lands were at variance between themselves. And then as the Danes came into England, and vexed the Englishmen, and dwelt there in spite of their hearts, even so came strange nations whose names were scarce heard of before in these quarters; (as the Vandals, Huns, and Goths,) and ran throughout all Christendom by hundred thousands together, and subdued the lands and dwelt therein maugre the inhabitors; as thou mayest see in Dutchland, how divers nations are inclosed in the midst of the land, of a strange tongue which no Dutchmen understand; and that rule continued well eight or nine score, or two hundred years. And in all this season, whosoever won the mastery, him the spiritualty received, and him they crowned king, and to him they clave. And whatsoever any tyrant had robbed all his life, that, or the most part thereof, must he deal among them at his death for fear of purgatory. The spiritualty all that season preached the pope mightily, built abbies for recreation and quietness, shrining them alway for saints which purchased them privileges, or fought for their liberties, or disputed for the pope's power, howsoever they lived, (but after fifty years, when their lives were forgotten,) and if any resisted them whatsoever mischief they went about, him they noted in the chronicles as a cruel tyrant: yea and

Vandals. Huns. Goths.

The spiritualty obeyed to him that gat the victory, how wicked soever he was.

Building of abbies.

Shrining of saints.

whatsoever misfortune chanced any of his posterity after him, that they noted also, as though God had plagued them, because their forefather was disobedient unto holy church; and ever put the stories that uttered their wickedness out of the way, and gathered relics from whence they could get them, and feigned miracles, and gave themselves only unto poetry, and shut up the Scripture: so that this was the very time of which Christ speaketh Matt xxiv. in which false prophets should arise, and shew miracles and wonders, to deceive the very elect, if it had been possible.

This was the time that false prophets did arise in the church

FINALLY in this busy world, the kings of Lombardy gat a little might and came up again, and were divers times emperors, though of no great might. And one Beringarius, king of Lombardy, began to meddle with our holy father's business. Wherefore the pope fled unto Otho king of the Saxons, which by that time had gotten might, and brought him into Italy against Beringarium, which Otho overcame Beringarium, and was made emperor for his labour, and thus came the empire first unto Dutchland.

Beringarius.

Otho.

And Otho received the empire of one pope John (say they) with this oath: I Otho do promise and swear unto the lord John, by the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by this wood of the cross that maketh living, and by these relics of saints, that if I come to Rome, with God's help, I will exalt the holy church of Rome, and the governor of the same unto my power. Neither shalt thou lose life nor members, or that honour that thou hast by my will, counsel, consent, or setting a work. Moreover, I will make in Rome no constitution or ordinance of any thing that pertaineth unto thee, or unto the Romans, without thy counsel. And whatsoever of the lands of St. Peter cometh unto our hands, I will deliver it thee. And unto whosoever I shall commit the rule of Italy, I will make him swear that he shall help thee to defend the lands of St. Peter unto his power.

Pope John the xiith.

The oath of the emperor made to the pope.

Note here the dissimulation of the pope, in calling his possessions St. Peter's possessions.

Pope Gregory the Fifth.

And Gregory the Fifth (when they had got at the last that which they long gaped for) made this ordinance of choosing the emperor, to stablish it withal: that six lords of Almany, three of the spiritualty, and three of the temporalty, with the king of Bohemia the seventh, to be the odd man, and umpire should choose him for ever, and send him to the pope to receive his oath, and to be crowned. Nevertheless the pope to keep the emperor afar off, sendeth him his coronation home to him ofttimes, much lever than that he should come any nearer, as a meek spirited man, that had lever live solitary and alone than have his holiness seen.

The election of the emperor appertaineth to the lords of Germany.

A PROPER SIMILITUDE TO DESCRIBE OUR HOLY FATHER.

AND to see how our holy father came up, mark the ensample of an ivy tree: first it springeth out of the earth, and then awhile creepeth along by the ground till it findeth a great tree; then it joineth itself beneath alow unto the body of the tree, and creepeth up a little and a little fair and softly. And at the beginning while it is yet thin and small, that the burthen is not perceived, it seemeth glorious to garnish the tree in the winter, and to bear off the tempests of the weather. But in the mean season it thrusteth roots into the bark of the tree to hold fast withal, and ceaseth not to climb up till it be at the top and above all. And then it sendeth his branches along by the branches of the tree, and overgroweth all, and waxeth great, heavy, and thick; and sucketh the moisture so sore out of the tree and his branches, that it choaketh and stifleth them. And then the foul stinking ivy waxeth mighty in the stump of the tree, and becometh a seat and

The ivy tree springeth.

The manner how the pope did spring up to his great authority.

a nest for all unclean birds, and for blind owls which hawk in the dark, and dare not come at the light.

Even so the bishop of Rome, now called pope, at the beginning crope along upon the earth, and every man trod upon him in this world. But as soon as there came a Christian emperor, he joined himself unto his feet and kissed them, and crope up a little with begging, now this privilege, now that; now this city, now that; to find poor people withal, and the necessary ministers of God's word. And he entitled the emperor with choosing the pope and other bishops, and promoted in the spiritualty, not whom virtue and learning, but whom the favour of great men commendeth; to flatter, to get friends, and defenders withal.

The choosing of the pope and all bishops pertained unto the emperor and kings once.

And the alms of the congregation which was the food and patrimony of the poor and necessary preachers, that he called St. Peter's patrimony, St. Peter's rents, St. Peter's lands, St. Peter's right; to cast a vain fear, and an heathenish superstitiousness into the hearts of men, that no man should dare meddle with whatsoever came once into their hands for fear of St. Peter, though they ministered it never so evil; and that they which should think it none alms to give them any more (because they had too much already) should yet give St. Peter somewhat (as Nebuchadnezzar gave his god Baal) to purchase an advocate and an intercessor of St. Peter, and that St. Peter should at the first knock let them in.

The alms given unto the poor is become St. Peter's patrimony.

Dan. xiv.

And thus, with flattering and feigning, and vain superstition, under the name of St. Peter, he crept up and fastened his roots in the heart of the emperor, and with his sword, climbed up above all his fellowships, and brought them under his feet. And as he subdued them with the emperor's sword, even so by subtilty and help of them (after that they were sworn faithful) he climbed above the emperor, and subdued him also, and made stoop unto his feet, and kiss them another while. Yea, pope Cœlestinus crowned the emperor Henry the fifth, holding the crown

The pope first gat above all the bishops, and then above the emperor.

O Lucifer.

Note this devilish and abominable pride.

between his feet. And when he had put the crown on, he smote it off with his feet again, saying: that he had might to make emperors, and put them down again.

A law made by the pope.

And he made a constitution that no layman should meddle with their matters, nor be in their councils, or wit what they did; and that the pope only should call the council, and the empire should but defend the pope, provided alway that the council should be in one of the pope's towns, and where the pope's power was greater than the emperor's; then under a pretence of condemning some heresy, he called a general council, where he made one a patriarch, another cardinal, another legate, another primate, another archbishop, another bishop, another dean, another archdeacon, and so forth, as we now see.

The pope createth his shavelings into dignities.

Qualis pater, talis filius; good natural children.

And as the pope played with the emperor, so did his branches, and his members the bishops, play in every kingdom, dukedom, and lordship; insomuch, that the very heirs of them, by whom they came up, hold now their lands of them, and take them for their chief lords. And as the emperor is sworn to the pope, even so every king is sworn to the bishops and prelates of his realm; and they are the chiefest in all parliaments; yea, they and their money, and they that be sworn to them, and come up by them, rule altogether.

The pope's order compared with Christ's.

And thus the pope, the father of all hypocrites, hath with falsehood and guile perverted the order of the world, and turned the roots of the trees upward, and hath put down the kingdom of Christ, and set up the kingdom of the devil, whose vicar he is, and hath put down the ministers of Christ, and hath set up the ministers of Satan, disguised yet in names and garments like unto the angels of light, and ministers of righteousness. For Christ's kingdom is not of the world; (John xviii.) and the pope's kingdom is all the world.

Christ and the pope compared together.

And Christ is neither judge nor divider in this world. (Luke xii.) But the pope judgeth and divideth all the

world, and taketh the empire and all kingdoms, and giveth them to whom he lusteth.

Christ saith, (Matt. v.) Blessed are the poor in spirit: so that the first step in the kingdom of Christ is humbleness, or humility, that thou canst find in thine heart to do service unto all men, and to suffer that all men tread thee.

The pope saith, Blessed be the proud and high minded, that can climb and subdue all under them, and maintain their right, and such as will suffer of no man. So that he which was yesterday taken from the dunghill and promoted this day by his prince, shall to-morrow, for the pope's pleasure, curse him, and excommunicate him, and interdict his realm.

Christ saith, Blessed be the meek, or soft, that be harmless as doves.

The pope blesseth them that can set all the world together by the ears, and fight, and slay manfully for his sake, that he may come hot from bloodshedding to a bishopric, as our cardinal did, and as St. Thomas of Canterbury did, which was made bishop in the field, in complete harness on his horseback, and his spear bloody in his hand.

Christ hath neither holes for foxes, nor nests for birds, nor yet whereon to lay his head, nor promised ought in this world unto his disciples, nor took any to his disciple but him that had forsaken all.

The ivytree the pope hath under his roots throughout all Christendom, in every village, holes for foxes, and nests for unclean birds in all his branches, and promiseth unto his disciples all the promotions of the world.

Christ bringeth a man low, but the pope lifteth up on high.

The nearer unto Christ a man cometh, the lower he must descend, and the poorer he must wax; but the nearer unto the pope ye come, the higher ye must climb, and the more riches ye must gather whencesoever ye can get them, to pay for your bulls, and to purchase a glorious name and licence, to wear a mitre, and a cross, and a pall, and goodly ornaments.

HOW THE POPE RECEIVETH HIS KINGDOM OF THE DEVIL, AND HOW HE DISTRIBUTETH IT AGAIN.

The pope receiveth his riches and kingdoms of the devil.

SHORTLY, the kingdoms of the earth and the glory of them, which Christ refused, (Matt. iv.) did the devil proffer unto the pope; and he immediately fell from Christ and worshipped the devil, and received them. For by falsehood (as he maintaineth them) came he thereto, and by falsehood do all his disciples come thereto. Who of an hundred one is pope, bishop, or any great prelate, but either by necromancy, or simony, or waiting on great men's pleasures, and with corrupting of God's word, and fashioning it after their lusts?

The pope distributeth his father's kingdom.

And the pope, after he had received the kingdom of the world of the devil, and was become the devil's vicar, took up in like manner all Christendom on high, and brought them from the meekness of Christ unto the high hill of the pride of Lucifer, and shewed them all the kingdoms of the earth, saying: Fall down and worship me, and I will give you these. Unto the spiritualty he saith: Fall from Christ, and preach me, and take thou that cardinalship, thou that bishoprick, thou that abbotship, and so forth; thou as many benefices as thou wilt, and a dispensation for what thou wilt. And to monks, and friars, in like manner, take thou that hole, and thou that nest, with what privileges ye will desire, and dispensations of your rules, if ye will preach me.

And unto the temporalty, he saith, first to the emperor: If thou wilt fall down and kiss my feet, and swear to hold of me, and to defend me, I give thee the empire.

And to all kings, in like manner, if they will swear to defend his liberties, and to hold of him, he crowneth them. And even so all temporal lords from the highest unto the lowest, and all officers, and all manner of subjects, if they

will enjoy lands, rents, offices, goods, and their very lives, they must run the same way.

The very whores (God's honour unregarded) as long as they despise not him and his ordinances, they shall nest in his rents, and among his prelates. And the thieves and murderers shall have dens in his sanctuaries, whatsoever they do against God, so long as they hang on him.

The pope's order compared with the order of the apostles.

The apostles chose priests to preach Christ only, all other things laid apart, and chose none but learned and virtuous.

The pope's priests.

The pope shaveth whosoever cometh, lever out of the stews, than from study; and when they be sworn, he sendeth them unto all great men's houses to preach his godhead, to be stewards, surveyers, receivers, and counsellors of all manner of mischief; to corrupt wife, daughter, and maid, and to betray their own master, as oft as it needeth, to promote their falsehood withal. For thereto are they sworn together. And when they have done all mischief, there shall no man wot whence it cometh.

The pope's widows.

The apostles chose deacons to minister the alms to the rich, unto the poor. And to help the deacons, they chose widows of sixty years old, holy, and destitute of friends to tend the sick. And the pope instead of such widows, maketh whosoever cometh, whether she be young or old, but none save them that be rich and able to pay twenty, thirty, or forty pound, for their profession, to whom for as much more he will give a dispensation on the morrow to marry again.

The pope's deacons.

And instead of such deacons, he maketh both deacons and sub-deacons, which do nothing at all, but are vain names without office, except it be that on some holy day, instead of ministering the goods of the church unto the poor, they sing an epistle or gospel, to beg more from the poor.

And as his deacons minister the goods of the church unto the poor, even so do his priests preach Christ's gospel unto the flock.

And the alms that was given to the sustentation of the

How the pope divideth the poor peoples alms.

poor, which thou shalt read in stories that it was in some cities above twenty, thirty, and forty, yea, an hundred thousand pound, and all the lands given for the same purpose, they have stolen from them, and have divided it among themselves. And therewith did they at the beginning corrupt the great men of the world, and climb up to this height where they now be. And for that they have striven among themselves this eight hundred years. And to maintain that which they have falsely gotten, hath the pope stirred up by a sword of war in all Christendom this eight hundred year, and hath taken peace clean out of the world.

When the bishops, priests, and deacons were fallen, and had received of the pope the kingdom that pertained unto the poor people, and had robbed them and parted their patrimony among themselves, then sprang the orders of monks. Whose profession was, to abstain from flesh all their lives, to wear vile raiment, to eat but once in the day, and that but butter, cheese, eggs, fruits, roots, and such things that were not costly, and might every where be found. And they wrote books, and wrought divers things to get their living withal. When the laymen saw that the priests were fallen into such covetousness, and that the monks were so holy, they thought, These be meet men to minister our alms unto the poor people. For their profession is so holy that they cannot deceive us as the priests do: and made the monks tutors and ministers unto the poor, and gave great lands and riches into their hands, to deal it unto the poor. When the monks saw such abundance, they fell after the ensample of the priests, and took dispensations of the pope for their rules, and strait profession, which now is as wide as their cowls, and divided all among them and robbed the poor once more. And out of the abbies took he the most part of bishoprics and cathedral churches, and the most part of all the lands he hath, besides that there remain yet so many mighty abbies and nunneries thereto.

Monks.

Monks made ministers to the poor.

Monks rob the poor.

As soon as the monks were fallen, then sprang these begging friars out of hell, the last kind of caterpillars, in a more vile apparel, and a more strait religion, that (if ought of relief were left among the laymen for the poor people) these horseleeches might suck that also. Which drone-bees, as soon as they had learned their craft, and had built them goodly and costly nests; and their limiters had divided all countries among them to beg in; and had prepared livings of a certainty, though with begging; then they also took dispensations of the pope for to live as largely, and as lewdly as the monks. Begging friars.

And yet unto the laymen, whom they have thus falsely robbed, and from which they have divided themselves, and made them a several kingdom among themselves, they leave the paying of toll, custom, and tribute, (for unto all the charges of the realms will they not pay one mite) and the finding of all the poor, the finding of scholars for the most part, the finding of these foresaid horse-leeches and caterpillars, the begging friars, the repairing of the high-ways and bridges, the building and reparations of their abbies and cathedral churches, chapels, colleges; for which they send out their pardons daily by heaps, and gather a thousand pounds for every hundred that they bestow truly. The charge of the lay-people.

If the lay-people have war, or whatsoever charge it be, they will not bear a mite. If the war be theirs, (as the one part almost of all war is to defend them) they will with falsehood make them bear the greatest part; besides that they must leave their wives and children, and go fight for them, and lose their lives. And likewise in all their charges they have a cast to poll the lay-people. The Scots cast down a castle of the bishop of Durham's, on the Scottish bank called Noram castle. And he gat a pardon from Rome for the building of it again, wherewith I doubt not but he gat for every penny that he bestowed three.

And what do they with their store, that they have in so

How the spirituality bestow their treasure.

great plenty everywhere; so that the very begging friars, in short space, to make a cardinal or a pope of their sect, or to do what feat it were for their profit, would not stick to bring above a king's ransom? Verily, make goodly places and parks of pleasure, and gay shrines, and painted posts, and purchase pardons, wherewith they yet still poll, and pluck away that little wherewith the poor, which perish for need, and fall into great inconveniences, might be somewhat holpen and relieved. And lay up in store to have alway to pay for the defending of their faith, and for to oppress the truth.

HOW THE POPE MADE HIM A LAW, AND WHY.

AFTER that the pope with tyranny was climbed above his brethren, and had made all the spiritualty his subjects, and had made of them and him a several kingdom among themselves, and had separated them from the lay in all things, and had got privileges, that whatsoever they did no man should meddle with them; and after also he had received the kingdoms of the earth of Satan, and was become his vicar to distribute them; and after that the emperor was fallen in like manner at his feet, and had worshipped him as god, to receive his empire of him; and all kings had done likewise to be anointed of him, and to be crowned of him; and after that the world, both great and small, had submitted themselves to receive the beast's badge; then, because that Christ's doctrine was contrary unto all such kingdoms, and therefore had no law therein how to rule it; he went and made him a several law of his own making, which passed in cruelty and tyranny the laws of all heathen princes.

The pope maketh laws.

The pope hath feigned the gift of Constantine.

And in his law he thrust in feigned gifts of old emperors that were out of memory, saying that the emperor Constantinus had given up the empire of Rome unto

St. Silvester, which is proved a false lie, for divers causes: one, that St. Silvester being so holy a man as he was, would not have received it contrary to his master's commandments and doctrine: another, that the emperors reigned in Rome many years after, and all bishops sued unto the emperor, and not to the pope, which was but bishop of Rome only, and not called Father of fathers. Moreover, that no authentic story maketh mention that any emperor gave them their patrimony, but that Pepin, which falsely and with strength invaded the empire, gave it unto him. Then put he in the grant of Phocas; then the gift of Pepin confirmed by the great Charles; then a feigned release of the election of the pope given up again unto pope Paschal by the emperor Lewis. For they themselves had granted unto Charlemagne, and his successors for ever, the election or denomination of the pope and bishops, to flatter him withal, and to make him a faithful defender, and that in a general council which (as they say) cannot err. Nevertheless, pope Paschal, though he believed the council could not err, yet he thought them somewhat over-seen to make so long a grant, and therefore he purchased a release of gentle Lewis, as they pretend. But verily, it is more likely that they feigned that grant to excuse their tyranny, after they had taken the election into their hands again with violence, when the emperors were weak, and not able to resist them; as they feigned the gift of Constantine, after they had invaded the empire with subtilty and falsehood. And, last of all, they brought in the oath of Otho, with the order that now is used, to choose the emperor.

What subtilty the pope useth to stablish his kingdom.

HOW THE POPE CORRUPTETH THE SCRIPTURE, AND WHY.

The pope corrupteth the Scripture, and why.

MOREOVER, lest these his lies should be spied, and lest haply the emperors following might say, Our predecessors had no power to bind us, nor to minish our might; and lest kings following should say after the same manner, that the sword, and full power to punish evil-doers indifferently, is given of God to every king for his time, and therefore that their predecessor could not bind them contrary unto the ordinance of God; but rather that it was unto their damnation to make such grants, and that they did not execute their office. And, therefore, the foul and misshapen monster gat him to the Scripture, and corrupted it with false expositions; to prove that such authority was given him of God, and challenged it by the authority of Peter; saying that Peter was the head of Christ's church, and that Christ had made him lord over the apostles, his fellows, in that he bade him feed his sheep and lambs: John the last, as who should say that Paul, which came long after, was not commanded to feed as specially as Peter, which yet would take none authority over the bodies, or over the faiths of them which he fed, but was their servant, for Christ's sake, Christ ever the lord and head; and as though the other apostles were not likewise as specially commanded as Peter; and as though we now, and all that hereafter shall love Christ, were not commanded to feed Christ's flock, every man in his measure, as well as Peter! Are not we commanded to love our neighbours as ourselves as well as Peter? Why then are we not commanded to care for his flock as well as Peter?

Peter (saith the pope) was the head of Christ's church.

All ministers have as great a charge given them of God as Peter had.

Moreover, if to feed Christ's sheep is to be greatest, (as no doubt to feed Christ's flock is to be great, and most to feed, is to be greatest: in which office, though Peter was

Peter preached, but the pope preached not.

great, yet Paul was greater) how cometh it that the pope by that authority challengeth to be greatest, and yet this eight hundred years feedeth not at all; but poisoneth their pasture with the venomous leaven of his traditions, and with wresting the text unto a contrary sense?

Then came he to this text, (Matt. xvi.) Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my congregation or church. Lo, saith antichrist, the carnal beast, Peter is the rock whereon the church of Christ is built, and I am his successor, and therefore the head of Christ's church. When Christ meant by the rock the confession that Peter had confessed, saying, Thou art Christ, the son of the living God, which art come into this world. This faith is the rock whereon Christ's church is built. For who is of Christ's church, but he only that believeth that Christ is God's son, come into this world to save sinners? This faith is it against which hell-gates cannot prevail. This faith is it which saveth the congregation of Christ, and not Peter.

Faith is the rock whereon Christ's church is built.

Then he goeth forth unto that which followeth: Unto thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou bindest in earth, it shall be bound in heaven, &c. Lo, saith he, in that he saith whatsoever thou bindest in earth, he excepteth nothing, therefore, I may make laws, and bind both king and emperor. When Christ, as he had no worldly kingdom, even so he spake of no worldly binding, but of binding of sinners. Christ gave his disciples the key of the knowledge of the law of God, to bind all sinners; and the key of the promises, to loose all that repent, and to let them in to the mercy that is laid up for us in Christ.

Binding and loosing, how it is to be understood.

The keys.

Then cometh he unto another text, which Christ rehearseth, (Matthew last) saying, All power is given me in heaven and earth; go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to keep all that I commanded you: and behold, I am with you unto

Behold here antichrist, how he wresteth the Scriptures.

the world's end. Lo, saith the pope, Christ hath all power in heaven and earth without exception, and I am Christ's vicar; wherefore, all power is mine, and I am above all kings and emperors in temporal jurisdiction, and they but my servants, to kiss not my feet only, but my . N. also, if I list not to have them stoop so low. When Christ, as I said, because he had no temporal kingdom, even so he meant of no temporal power; but of power to save sinners, which the process of the text declareth by that he saith, Go ye, therefore, and teach and baptize; that is, preach this power unto all nations, and wash off their sins, through faith in the promises made in my blood.

Christ's power is to save sinners.

Of this manner judgeth he with all texts.

Then he cometh unto another text, (Heb. vii.) which is, The priesthood being translated, the law must needs be translated also. Now, saith the pope, The priesthood is translated unto me, wherefore it pertaineth unto me to make laws, and to bind every man. And the Epistle meaneth no such thing, but proveth evidently that the ceremonies of Moses must cease. For the priests of the Old Testament must needs have been of the tribe of Levi, as Aaron was, whose duty for ever was the offering of sacrifices; wherefore, when that priesthood ceased, the sacrifices and ceremonies ceased also. Now that priesthood ceased in Christ, which was a priest of the order of Melchizedec, and not of the order of Aaron; for then he must have been of the tribe of Levi, and that he was not, but of the tribe of Judah, and of the seed of David; wherefore they that are under Christ's priesthood are under no sacrifices or ceremonies. And of this manner juggle they with all the Scripture; which falsehood, lest the laymen should perceive with reading the process of the text, is all their fear, whatsoever they pretend.

At the suffering of Christ, the offering of sacrifices and ceremonies ceased: for Christ offered himself once for all.

Christ gave all his apostles like authority.

Moreover, that thou mayest perceive the pope's falsehood, mark, Christ said unto Peter, I will give, and not I give; neither said he, I will give unto thee only. Therefore, look in the xxth chapter of John, where he gave them the keys after his resurrection, and thou shalt see he

gave them unto all indifferently, saying, As my Father sent me, so send I you. Whither sent he them? Unto all the world, and unto all nations. What to do? To preach the law, that the people might repent, and the promises, that they might believe in Christ, for the remission of sins, saying, Receive the Holy Ghost: whosoever's sin ye forgive, they shall be forgiven. By which Holy Ghost, he gave them understanding of the Scripture, and of all that they should preach: as thou mayest see, Luke last, where he opened their wits to understand the Scripture, and said, That repentance and forgiveness of sins must be preached, in his name, to all nations, and that they were witnesses to preach it. Whereby thou seest, that to bind and to loose, is but to preach and to tell the people their faults, and to preach mercy in Christ, to all that repent.

To bind and loose is to preach.

And when he saith, All power is given me, he saith not, Go thou, Peter, and preach: but saith unto all indifferently, Go ye, and preach this power given me of my Father, to save all that repent, and to damn them that repent not, but follow the lusts of their flesh, with full desire to live beastly, being enemies unto the law of God.

Christ sent out all his apostles, and not Peter alone.

And (Matt. xviii.) Peter asked Christ how oft he should forgive his brethren, whether seven times? And Christ said, Seventy times seven times. As who should say, As oft as he repenteth, and asketh forgiveness.

Note.

Now, though this were spoken unto Peter only, because Peter only moved the question, yet pertaineth it unto us all, as well as unto Peter. Are not we as much bound to forgive our neighbours, that repent and ask forgiveness, as Peter? Yes, verily. But because Peter only asked the question, therefore did Christ teach us by Peter. If another had asked, he would have taught us by that other. And in like manner, when Christ asked, Who say ye that I am? if any other of the apostles which believed it as well as Peter, had said as Peter did, Thou art Christ, the son of the living God, which art come into

We are bound to forgive our neighbours as well as Peter was.

Christ builded his church upon the confession of Peter, and not upon Peter.

the world of sinners, to save them: unto him would Christ have answered as he did to Peter, That upon the rock of that, his confession, he would have built his church, and would have promised him keys, as well as he did Peter. Yea, and in the xviiith chapter of Matthew, Christ saith to all the apostles, yea, and to all congregations where sinners be, That whatsoever they bound should be bound, and whatsoever they loosed should be loosed.

A woman hath power to bind.

Moreover, every man and woman, that know Christ and his doctrine, have the keys, and power to bind and loose: in an order, and in their measure, as time, place, and occasion giveth, and privately. May not a wife, if her husband sin against God and her, and take another woman, tell him his fault between him and her secretly, and in good manner humbly, and bind his conscience with the law of God? And if he repent, may she not forgive him, and loose him, as well as the pope? Yea, and better too, as long as the sin is secret, inasmuch as he sinneth specially against her, and not against the pope.

How a woman may bind and loose.

And so may the son do to his father, and a servant to his master, and every man to his neighbour, as thou seest in the said xviiith chapter of Matthew. Howbeit, to bind and loose in the conscience by open preaching, pertaineth unto the officers that are appointed thereto. And to bind and loose open sinners, and them that will not repent, till they be complained on unto the congregation, pertaineth unto the congregation.

To bind the conscience, and to reprove open sinners, pertaineth to the congregation.

Finally, there were many that preached Christ at Rome, yet Peter came thither, if he came ever thither, as Paul and many other. Had they not authority to bind and loose? Or else how did they convert the people? Peter also was an apostle, and went from place to place as Paul did, and as Paul ordained bishops in every place to teach the people, so no doubt did Peter. Why then might not those bishops challenge authority by Peter, as well as they of Rome? they say also in their own legends, that Peter had his seat at Antioch first. Did he run to Rome

Reasons that Peter was not the greatest by authority given him of Christ.

Peter had first his seat at Antioch.

leaving no man behind him, to teach the people at Antioch? God forbid. Why then might not that bishop challenge Peter's authority? They will haply say, sooner than prove it, that Peter died at Rome, and therefore his authority is greatest there. Then by that rule, Christ's power is no where so full as at Jerusalem. But what hath Christ's invisible kingdom to do with places? Where Christ's gospel is, there is his power full, and all his authority as well in one place as in another.

Christ's power is in the gospel.

Finally, to get authority whencesoever they can snatch it, they join Paul with Peter in their own laws, *Distinctio* xxii. saying, By the authority of Peter and Paul. Which is clean against themselves. For they say, in their own law, in the presence of the superior the power of the inferior ceaseth, and is none at all. Now if Peter be greater than Paul, then by that rule where Peter is present, there Paul is but a subject, and without authority. And where Christ is present bodily and preacheth himself, there the apostles give up their authority, and hold their peace, and sit down at his feet, and become scholars and hearken to.

Paul is called to help.

In the presence of the greater, the power of the lesser doth cease.

Wherefore, in that they join Paul with Peter, and challenge their superiority as well by the authority of Paul, as of Peter, there they make Paul fellow and equal with Peter. And thus it is false that Peter was greater than his fellows. But the blind owls care not what they howl, seeing it is night, and the day-light of God's word shut up, that no man can spy them.

Paul is made equal fellow with Peter.

Moreover, with this term, Peter's seat, they juggle apace (as with infinite other) saying, That Peter's seat is the chief seat; but what Peter's seat is, that they tell you not. For wist ye that, ye should soon perceive that they lie. Peter's seat is no stool or chair (for what hath the kingdom of Christ to do with such baggage?) but it is a spiritual thing. Christ saith in the gospel, (Matt. xxiii.) The scribes and pharisees sit on Moses' seat. What was Moses' seat there, a chair, or the temple, or the churches, or synagogue of the land? Nay verily, for Moses came

Peter's seat, what it is.

Peter's seat, Peter's doctrine, and Peter's keys, are all but one thing.

never there. But Moses' seat was Moses' law and doctrine. Even so Peter's seat is Peter's doctrine, the gospel of Christ, which Peter taught. And the same doctrine is Peter's keys: so that Peter's seat, Peter's keys, and Peter's doctrine is all one thing. Now is Peter's doctrine, Paul's doctrine, and the doctrine of all the twelve apostles, indifferently, for they taught all one thing. Wherefore, it followeth that Peter's keys, and Peter's seat, be the keys and seat of Paul also, and of all the other twelve apostles, and are nothing save the gospel of Christ. And thus, as Peter's doctrine is no better than Paul's, but one thing; even so Peter's seat is no greater, nor higher, nor holier than the seat of the other twelve. Peter's seat now is Christ's seat, Christ's gospel, on which all the apostles sat, and on which this day sitteth all they only that preach Christ truly. Wherefore, as antichrist preacheth not Peter's doctrine (which is Christ's gospel) so he sitteth not on Peter's seat; but on the seat of Satan, whose vicar he is; and on the seat of his own laws and ceremonies, and false doctrine, whereunto he compelleth all men with violence of sword.

Peter's seat is Christ's gospel.

The pope sitteth in the Devil's seat, whose vicar he is.

Purgatory

The Pope saith that purgatory is in earth.

Then he climbed to purgatory with the ladder of the said text, Whatsoever thou bindest in earth, &c. Purgatory, saith he, is in earth: Wherefore, I am Lord there too. Nevertheless, as he can prove no purgatory, so can he not prove, that if there were any, it should be in the earth. It might well be in the element or sphere of fire under the moon, as well as in the earth. But to bind and loose is, as I have above said, to preach, and to feed, and with Christ's doctrine to purge souls. And they that be dead be not of the flock which Christ bade Peter feed, but they that live only.

Vows.

Oaths.

Testaments

Then climbed he up with the same ladder still over all vows and professions of all religious persons, and over oaths made between man and man to dispense with them, and over all men's testaments, to alter them. For what thou makest an hospital, that will he shortly make a college

of priests, or a place of religion, or what one lusteth. Then all manner [of] monks and friars, and like draff, took dispensations of him for the ordinances of their old founders. And because, as they thought, they had prayed and distributed for their souls enough to bring them out of purgatory, they thrust them out of their beed-rolls, and took daily more and more.

The pope altereth men's wills and testaments at his pleasure.

But ever since they took dispensations of the pope, both for their rules, and to divide all among them, they received in the name, not of the poor, but of purgatory, to quench the raging fire thereof, which is as hot as their bellies can feign it, and fools be out of their wits to believe it; promising a mass daily for forty shillings by the year, of which foundations when they have gotten twenty, they will yet, with an union purchased of the pope, make but one chauntry. For if they should do all that they have promised from the first founder unto this day, five hundred monks were not enough in many cloisters.

The pope's merchandise.

Union.

Thinkest thou that men were ever so mad to make the fashions that are now among them? to give the celarer such a sum, and the prior, or sub-prior, and the other officers so much for their parts as they have yearly, and to exempt the abbot from his brethren, and to send him out of the abbey into such parks and places of pleasure, and give him a thousand, fifteen hundred, two thousand, or three thousand pounds yearly, to sport himself withal? Nay, but when through hypocrisy they had gotten land enough, then they turned unto the pope, and took dispensations both for their rules which were too hard for such abundance, and for the wills of their founders, and served a great sort of founders under one *per dominum*, and divided among few that which was enough for a great multitude.

The great and shameful abuse of abbeys.

Dispensations purchased of the pope.

It was the pope that devised all these fashions, to corrupt the prelates with abundance of worldly pleasures, of which he wist that the worst would be most greedy, an for which he wist also, that he should find Judases enough

that would forsake Christ, and betray the truth, and be sworn false unto him and his Godhead. He maketh of many chauntries one, of an abbey a cathedral church, and out of the abbies plucked he the bishoprics. And as bishops pay for their bulls, even so do an infinite number of abbots in Christendom, in all lands some, which abbots be bishops within themselves, and immediately under the pope. And other abbots and priors send after the same ensample daily unto Rome, to purchase licence to wear a mitre and a cross, and gay ornaments, to be as glorious as the best, &c. And where before God no man is a priest but he that is appointed to preach Christ's gospel unto the people; and the people ought not to give ought unto the spiritualty, but for the maintenance of the preaching of God's word; the pope taketh six or seven, yea, ten, twenty, and as many benefices as he listeth, and giveth them unto one that preacheth not at all; as he doth all other dignities of the spiritualty. He that will purchase and pay, and be sworn, shall have what he will.

Chopping and changing used by the pope.

The wicked bestowing of benefices by the pope.

HOW THEY PROVE ALL THEIR GENERAL COUNCILS.

WHEN the bishops and abbots and other great prelates had forsaken Christ and his living, and were fallen down before the beast, the vicar of Satan, to receive their kingdom of him; then the pope called together divers councils of such holy apostles, and there concluded and made of every opinion that seemed profitable, an article of the faith. If thou ask where the Scripture is to prove it? they answer, We be the church, and cannot err, and therefore, say they, what we conclude, though there be no Scripture to prove it, it is as true as the Scripture, and of

The church cannot err.

equal authority with the Scripture, and must be believed as well as the Scripture, under pain of damnation. For, say they, Our truth dependeth not of the truth of the Scripture, that is, we be not true in our doing, because the Scripture testifieth unto us that we do truly; but contrary, The truth of the Scripture (say they) dependeth of us: that is, the Scripture is true, because that we admit it, and tell thee that it is true. For how couldst thou know that it were the Scripture, except we told thee so? and therefore, we need no witness of the Scripture, for that we do it is enough, that we so say of our own head, for we cannot err.

The pope saith that the Scripture is true not of itself, but because he alloweth and approveth it.

Which reason is like as though young monks newly professed, should come by the rules of their order and ordinances of their old founders, and would go about to keep them; and the old cankered monks should call them back unto the corrupt and false manner that now is used, saying: Ye err. Do only as we teach you, for your profession is to obey your elders. According unto the rules of our order, and ordinances of our founder, shall they say. We can teach you no other, shall the old monks say, nor can lie unto you: ye ought, therefore, to believe us, and to do as we bid you. The young monks shall answer, We see that ye lie clean contrary unto all that is written in our rules and ordinances. The old monks shall say, Ye cannot understand them except we expound them unto you, neither yet know that they be your rules, except that ye believe that we cannot lie unto you. For how can ye know that these be your rules and ordinances, but as we your elders tell you so? now when we tell you that these be your rules and ordinances, how can ye be sure undoubtedly, that it is so, except ye believe undoubtedly that we cannot lie? Wherefore, if ye will be sure that they be your rules and ordinances, then ye must first believe that we cannot lie. Leave such imaginations and disputations therefore, and lay your rules and ordinances out of your hands, and look no more on them, for they make you err. And come and do as we tell you and captivate your wits, and believe that

A similitude.

This doctrine the papists used in those days.

we cannot lie unto you and that ye cannot understand your rules and ordinances. Even so, if thou say it is contrary unto the Scripture: they answer that thou understandest it not, and that thou must captive thy wit, and believe that, though it seem never so contrary, yet it is not contrary: no, if they determine that Christ is not risen again, and though the Scripture testify that he is risen again, yet, (say they) they be not contrary, if they be wisely understood. Thou must believe, say they, that there is some other meaning in the Scripture and that no man understandeth it: but that we say, whether without Scripture, or against it, that must thou believe that it is true.

The common saying and teaching of the papists.

And thus, because that the Scripture would not agree with them, they thrust it out of the way first, and shut up the kingdom of heaven, which is Christ's gospel, with false expositions, and with such sophistry, and with false principles of natural wisdom. And the abbots took the Scripture from their monks, lest some should ever bark against the abbots' living, and set up such long service and singing, to weary them withal, that they should have no leisure to read in the Scripture but with their lips, and made them good cheer to fill their bellies, and to stop their mouths. And the bishops in like manner, to occupy their priests withal, that they should not study the Scripture for barking against them, set up long service wondrous intricate, so that in a dozen years, thou couldst scarce learn to turn aright unto it: long matins, long even-songs, long masses, long diriges with vantage yet to mitigate the tediousness, *quia levis est labor cum lucro*, for lucre (say they) maketh the labour light: ever noselling them in ceremonies, and in their own constitutions, decrees, ordinances and laws of holy church.

The abbots keep the monks in ignorance, and the bishops the priests.

Gain joined with pain maketh pain nothing.

And the promises and testament which the sacrament of Christ's body and blood did preach daily unto the people, that they put out of knowledge, and say now that it is a sacrifice for the souls of purgatory, that they might the better sell their mass. And in the universities they have

ordained that no man shall look on the Scripture, until he be noselled in heathen learning eight or nine years, and armed with false principles, with which he is clean shut out of the understanding of the Scripture. And at his first coming unto university he is sworn that he shall not defame the university whatsoever he seeth. And when he taketh first degree he is sworn that he shall hold none opinion condemned by the church, but what such opinions be, that he shall not know. And they when they be admitted to study divinity, because the Scripture is locked up with such falseexpositions, and with false principles of natural philosophy that they cannot enter in, they go about the outside and dispute all their lives about words and vain opinions, pertaining as much unto the healing of a man's heel, as health of his soul. Provided yet alway, lest God give his singular grace unto any person, that none may preach except he be admitted of the bishops. Then came Thomas de Aquino and he made the pope a god with his sophistry, and the pope made him a saint for his labour, and called him doctor Sanctus, for whose holiness no man may deny whatsoever he saith, save in certain places, where among so many lies he said now and then true. And in like manner whosoever defendeth his traditions, decrees and privileges, him he made a saint also for his labour, were his living never so contrary unto the Scripture; as Thomas of Canterbury, with many other like, whose life was like Thomas Cardinal's, but not Christ's, neither is Thomas Cardinal's life any thing save a counterfeiting of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Thomas Becket was first seen in merchandise temporal; and then to learn spiritual merchandise he gat him to Theobald archbishop of Canterbury; which sent him divers times to Rome about business of holy church. And when Theobald had spied his activity he shore him deacon lest he should go back; and made him archdeacon of Canterbury, and upon that presented him to the king. And the king made him his chancellor in which office he passed

The cast of universities.

Proviso.

St. Thomas de Aquino.

Saints.

Thomas of Canterbury.

Thomas Becket and Thomas Wolsey compared together.

the pomp and pride of Thomas Cardinal as far as the one's shrine passeth the other's tomb in glory and riches. And after that, he was a man of war, and captain over five or six thousand men in full harness as bright as St. George, and his spear in his hand; and encountered whosoever came against him, and overthrew the jolliest rutter that was in all the host of France. And out of the field hot from bloodshedding was he made bishop of Canterbury, and did put off his helmet, and put on his mitre; put off his harness, and on with his robes; and laid down his spear and took his cross, ere his hands were cold, and so came with a lusty courage of a man of war to fight another while against his prince for the pope. Where his prince's causes were with the law of God and the pope's clean contrary. And the pomp of his consecration was after his old worldly fashion. Howbeit yet he is made a saint for his worshipping of the holy seat of St. Peter; not that seat of Peter which is Christ's gospel, but another lied to be Peter's, and is indeed *cathedra pestilentiæ*, a chair of false doctrine. And because he could no skill of our Lord's gospel, he said of matins with our lady. Such as understand the Latin, read his life and compare it unto the Scripture, and then he shall see such holiness as were here too long to be rehearsed. And every abbey, and every cathedral church, did shrine them one god or other, and mingled the lives of the very saints with stark lies, to move men to offer, which thing they call devotion.

The pope rewardeth his servants highly when they be dead.

And though in all their doings they oppress the temporalty and their commonwealth, and be grievous unto the rich, and painful to the poor; yet they be so many and so exercised in wiles, and so subtle, and so knit and sworn together that they compass the temporalty, and make them bear them whether they will or will not (as the oak doth the ivy) partly with juggling, and beside that with worldly policy. For every abbot will make him that may do most in the shire, or with the king, the steward of his lands, and give him a fee yearly; and will lend unto some,

Policy.

and feast other, that by such means they do what they will. And little master parson after the same manner if he come into an house and the wife be snout-fair he will root himself there by one craft or other; either by using such pastime as the good man doth, or in being beneficial by one way or other, or he will lend him, and so bring him into his danger that he cannot thrust him out when he would, but must be compelled to bear him, and to let him be homely whether he will or no.

The practice of little master parson.

AN EXAMPLE OF PRACTICE OUT OF OUR OWN CHRONICLES.

TAKE an ensample of their practice out of our own stories. King Harold exiled or banished Robert archbishop of Canterbury. For what cause the English polichronicon specifieth not. But if the cause were not somewhat suspect, I think they would not have passed it over with silence. This Robert gat him immediately unto king William the conqueror, then duke of Normandy. And the pope Alexander sent duke William a banner to go and conquer England; and clean remission unto whosoever would follow the banner, and go with king William. Here mark how straight the pope followed Christ's steps and his apostles! They preached forgiveness of sins to all that repented through Christ's bloodshedding; the pope preacheth forgiveness of sins to all that will slay their brethren bought with Christ's blood, to subdue them unto his tyranny. Whatsoever other cause duke William had against king Harold, thou mayest be sure that the pope would not have meddled, if Harold had not troubled his kingdom: neither should duke William have been able to conquer the land at that time, except the spiritualty had

King Harold.

Robert of Canterbury.

Remission of sins to conquer England.

Note here how well Christ and the pope agree, Christ biddeth save, and the pope biddeth kill.

wrought on his side. What blood did that conquest cost England, through which almost all the lords of the English blood were slain, and the Normans became rulers, and all the laws were changed into French! But what careth the holy father for shedding of laymen's blood? It were better that ten hundred thousand lay knaves lost their lives, than that holy church should lose one inch of her honour, or St. Peter's seat one jot of her right.

The pope is a cruel and merciless tyrant.

And Anselmus, that was bishop in short time after, never left striving with that mighty prince king William the second, until he had compelled him, maugre his teeth, to deliver up the investiture or election of bishops unto St. Peter's vicar, which investiture was of old time the king's duty.

Anselmus a chaplain of the pope's.

And again, when the said king William would have had the tribute that priests gave yearly unto their bishops for their whores, paid to him; did not Ralph bishop of Chichester forbid God's service (as they call it) and stop up the church doors with thorns, throughout all his diocese, until the king had yielded him up his tribute again? For when the holy father had forbad priests their wives, the bishop permitted them whores of their own for a yearly tribute, and do still yet in all lands save in England where they may not have any other save men's wives only.

The pope is well pleased to admit priests to have whores, but not wives.

And again, for the election of Stephen Langton Archbishop of Canterbury, what misery and wretchedness was in the realm a long season! Then was the land interdicted many years. And when that holp not, then Ireland rebelled against king John immediately, and not without the secret workings of our prelates I dare well say. But finally, when neither the interdicting, neither that secret subtilty holp, and when John would in no means consent that St. Peter's vicar should reign alone over the spiritualty, and over all that pertaineth unto them, and that they should sin and do all mischief unpunished, the pope sent remission of sins to the king of France, for to go and conquer his land. Whereof king John was so sore afraid, that he

Note here the pride and wickedness of the pope.

Remisson of sins to conquer England.

yielded up his crown to the pope, and sware to hold the land of him, and that his successors should do so likewise.

Thomas Arundel.

And again, in king Richard's days the second, Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, was exiled with the earl of Derby. The outward pretence of the variance between the king and his lords was for the deliverance of the town of Brest, in Britain. But our prelates had another secret mystery a brewing. They could not at their own lust slay the poor wretches which at that time were converted unto repentance and to the true faith, to put their trust in Christ's death and blood-shedding, for the remission of their sins by the preaching of John Wickliffe. As soon as the archbishop was out of the realm, the Irishmen began to rebel against king Richard, as before against king John; but not hardly without the invisible inspiration of them that rule both in the court and also in the consciences of all men. They be one kingdom, sworn together one to help another scattered abroad in all realms.

Practice of prelates.

The pope's clergy are secret and subtle conspirators.

And howbeit that they strive among themselves who shall be greatest, yet against the temporal power they be always at one; though they dissemble it and feign as though one held against the other to know their enemy's secrets, to betray them withal. They can inspire privily into the breasts of the people what mischief they list, and no man shall know whence it cometh. Their letters go secretly from one to another throughout all kingdoms. Saint Peter's vicar shall have word in fifteen or sixteen days, from the uttermost part of Christendom. The bishops of England at their need can write unto the bishops of Ireland, Scotland, Denmark, Dutchland, France, and Spain, promising them as good a turn another time; putting them in remembrance that they be all one holy church, and that the cause of the one is the cause of the other; saying, If our juggling break out, your's cannot be long hid. And the other shall serve their turn, and bring the game unto their hands, and no man shall know how it cometh about.

A traitorous practice.

As soon as king Richard was gone to Ireland, to subdue these rebellions, the bishop came in again and prevented the king, and took up his power against him and took him prisoner, and put him down, and to death most cruelly, and crowned the earl of Derby king. O merciful Christ! what blood hath that coronation cost England! But what care they? their causes must be avenged. He is not worthy to be king that will not avenge their quarrels. For do not the kings receive their kingdom of the beast, and swear to worship him, and maintain his throne? and then when the earl of Derby, which was king Henry the fourth, was crowned, the prelates took his sword and his son's, Henry the fifth after him, (as all the king's swords since) and abused them to shed Christ's blood at their pleasure. And they coupled their cause unto the king's cause, (as now) and made it treason to believe in Christ as the Scripture teacheth, and to resist the bishops, (as now) and thrust them in the king's prisons, (as now) so that it is no new invention that they now do, but even an old practice, though they have done their busy cure to hide their science, that their conveyance should not be espied.

The papists are stirrers up of wars and shedders of blood.

Duke Humphry.

And in king Harry the sixth's days, how raged they as fierce lions against good duke Humphry of Glocester, the king's uncle and protector of the realm in the king's youth and childhood, because that for him they might not slay whom they would, and make what chevisance they lusted. Would not the bishop of Winchester have fallen upon him and oppressed him openly with might and power in the city of London, had not the citizens come to his help?

Papists are cruel.

A parliament kept at Bury.

The death of Humphry duke of Glocestor, protector of the realm of England.

But at the last they found means to contrive a drift to bring their matters to pass, and made a parliament far from the citizens of London, where was slain the good duke and only wealth of the realm, and the mighty shield that so long before that kept it from sorrow, which shortly after his death fell thereon by heaps. But the chronicles cannot tell wherefore he died nor by what means. No marvel verily. For he had need of other eyes than such as the world seeth

withal that should spy out their privy paths. Nevertheless, the chronicles testify that he was a virtuous man, a godly, and good to the commonwealth. Moreover the proctor of purgatory saith in his dialogue, quoth I, and quoth he, and quoth your friend, how that the foresaid duke of Gloucester was noble man and a great clerk, and so wise that he could spy false miracles and disclose them, and judge them from the true, which is an hateful science unto our spiritualty, and more abhorred amongst them than necromancy or witchcraft; and a thing wherefore a man by their law, I dare well say, is worthy to die, and that secretly if it be possible. Now to be good to the commonwealth, and to see false miracles; and thirdly, to withstand that France, then brought under the foot of the Englishmen, should not be set up again, by whose power the pope holdeth down the emperor and reigneth in his stead, be causes why he might die though by what means be not known.

This is Sir Thomas More.

The clergy cannot abide them that can judge false miracles.

The causes why the duke of Glocester was murdered.

For to be good to the commonwealth is to be hurtful to the spiritualty, seeing the one is the other's prey, as the lamb is the wolf's. Secondarily, if a man be so clear-eyed that he can spy false miracles, how can jugglers get their living and be in price where such a fellow is? Thirdly, to keep down the kingdom of France is to pull St. Peter's vicar out of his seat.

Now if the great bawd the whore of Babylon were destroyed, then would the brothel and stews of our prelates shortly perish. If Abaddon, that destroyer, king of the grasshoppers which devour all that is green, were destroyed, then were the kingdom of our caterpillars at an end.

The pope is the whore of Babylon.

BY WHAT CRAFT THE POPE KEEPETH THE EMPEROR DOWN.

Another practice of prelates.

MARK another practice of our most holy prelates. When the empire was translated unto the Germans, though the emperor was fallen down and had kissed the pope's feet, and was become his sworn servant; yet there was much strife and open war ofttimes between the popes and the emperors. And the popes have put down many good emperors by help of the bishops, which everywhere secretly persuaded the lords to forsake the emperors, and to take dispensations of the pope for their oaths.

Popes have deposed emperors, and likewise emperors have deposed popes.

And contrariwise, the emperors have now and then deposed diverse popes at the request of the cardinals and other great prelates; by whose help only they were able to do it. For else verily, though all kings christened had sworn to depose one pope out of his seat, if they had not the favour of other prelates thereto, they might haply by the secret practice of them, to be put out of their own seats in the mean time.

The pope therefore, to be sure of himself, and out of the fear and danger of the emperor, were he never so mighty, and that the emperor should not see his daily open pastimes, made friendship and amity with the Venetians on one side of him, and let them come into certain cities of the emperor's in Italy; and with the French king on the other side, and let him also up into certain cities and possessions of the emperors, and he himself in the midst: and shut out the emperor from coming any more to Rome, and ever sent his coronation home to him. And then he made a law that no man should rebuke the pope for whatsoever he did; saying, that the pope was over all, and judge over all, and none over him; and therefore forbad in his law, *Distinctio, xl. Si Papa*, saying, Though the pope be

No man may rebuke the pope for any mischief that he doth.

proved negligent about himself, and also the soul-health of his brethren, and slack in his works, and speechless as concerning any good, and draw to him by his example innumerable people to hell to be punished with him with divers torments everlasting; yet see that no mortal man presume once to rebuke his faults here. For he shall judge all men and no man him. O antichrist! Is he not antichrist that will not have his life tried by God's word?

Venetians.

If the Venetians catch any of our holy father's towns or possessions, whether by war, or that they have bought it, or that it be laid to mortgage unto them, or that the old pope hath given it with the marriage of some daughter unto the duke of Venice; then the holy father that succeedeth, when he seeth his season, sendeth for it again, saying, That it is not lawful for laymen to withhold St. Peter's patrimony. If they allege that they bought it and so forth, his fatherhood answered, That the old pope had none authority to make any such chevisance with St. Peter's inheritance: he could have but the use of it his life long, and after it must needs return unto his successor again. And upon that he interdicteth them, and curseth them as black as coals down to the pit of hell.

The pope may give and take again at his will and pleasure.

But the Venetians knowing more of our holy father's practice for their nighness than we which dwell afar off, and wiser than we of cold countries, perceiving also that their colour changeth not with his cursing, and that they sink not, and that their meat digesteth as well as before, and that (as Erasmus saith) they s . . t as easily as before, (with reverence of the holy course, I speak it) and therefore fear not his interdiction nor excommunication.

The Venetians care not for the pope, and cursing for blessing.

Then our holy father raiseth up all the power that he is able to make in Italy against them, and sendeth for the Socheners to come and help. If he be not yet strong enough, then he sendeth unto the bishops of France, warning them that if his seat decay, their's cannot long prosper, and therefore that they put their king in remembrance, how that he is called most Christian king, and

that they desire him to do somewhat for his title, against this disobedient rebellion unto the most holy see of Rome, our mother holy church.

Frenchmen.

If another time the Frenchmen come to our holy father, as they be ever gaping for Italy to bring the empire home again to France. Then that most holy vicar bringeth his whole power against them, with the power of the Venetians, and with his old friends the Socheners. If he be not yet strong enough, then he sendeth to the bishops of England, to help their god, and to move their king to do somewhat for holy church, putting him in remembrance of whom he holdeth his crown and oath, and how many caps of maintenance have been ever sent unto his forefathers, and what honour it was unto them, and that he may easily get as great honour as they, and haply a more excellent title, if he will take our holy father's part; besides that he shall purchase remission of all his sins..

Englishmen.

The practice of the pope with all kings and princes.

The pope a breaker of peace.

Then must the peace and all the appointments made between us and France be broken, and the king must take a dispensation for his oath. For the king of France will attempt nothing in Italy, until he have sent his ambassadors, and have made a perpetual peace with our king, the sacrament of the body of our Saviour broke between them to confirm the appointment. But I suppose that the breaking signifieth that the appointment shall not long endure, for a great deal of flour would not make so many hosts, (as they call them) or singing loves, as hath been broken in our days between Christian princes, (as they will be called) to confirm promises that have not long been kept. Other use of that blessed sacrament will the princes none know: but Christ ordained it to be a perpetual memory that his body was broken for our sins upon the cross, and that all that repent should receive, as oft as they eat of it, forgiveness of their misdeeds, through faith. If the kings of the earth, when they break that sacrament between them, do say on thiswise: The body of our Saviour

The abuse of the sacrament.

(which was broken on the cross for the sin of all that repent, and have good hearts, and would fain keep his law) be broke unto my damnation, if I break this oath; then is it a terrible oath, and they had need to take heed how they make it; and if it be lawfully made, not to break it at all. But as they care for their oath, which they make in wedlock, so they care for this.

How the sacrament should be broken between kings and princes.

Whatsoever need the pope hath, he will not send to the emperor to come and help him in Italy, for fear lest he would take to himself whatsoever he conquered of the Frenchmen, and wax too strong, and minish our holy father's power, and become our holy father's vicar, as he is St. Peter's. Nevertheless, if we Englishmen will hire the emperor to come and fight against France, for the right of the church in these quarters that be next unto us, his fatherhood is content to admit his service.

The pope would not have the emperor too strong.

When our king hath granted to take our holy father's part, then the pretence and cloak outward must be, that the king will challenge his right in France. And to aid the king in his right, must the commons be milked till they bleed again. Then to do the king service, the lords sell, or lay their lands to mortgage. Then is clean remission given, to slay French dogs. He that dieth in the quarrel shall never see purgatory, but fly to heaven straight, even with a thought.

Remission of sins, and clean deliverance out of purgatory.

WHEN the pope hath what he desireth in Italy, then must we make peace with the Frenchmen again immediately, that France be not altogether trodden under the foot; but that it remain alway in a mean state, strong enough to match the emperor, and to keep him down, but not too mighty for oppressing the pope. And then our prelates, to bring the peace about, send immediately a friar Forest, or a vicar of Croydon, to preach before the king, and his lords; which preacher roareth and crieth unto them, as though he hallooed his hounds, and maketh exclamations, saying: Alas, what will ye

A friar Forest, or a vicar of Croydon.

Popish practices.

do? spare Christian blood: will ye slay your own souls? Be not the Frenchmen as well Christian as ye? Moreover, ye slay poor innocents that never offended. Make peace for the passion of Christ. Kill not one another, as though Christ had not died for you; but fight rather against the Turks.

Then come in the ambassadors of France, and money, a few prelates, and certain other the king's play-fellows, that be sworn with them to betray both the king and the realm too; and then is peace concluded. But outwardly there is nothing save a truce taken for half an year, till our soldiers be at home again, for fear lest they would not be content. Then cometh the whole host home beggared, both great and small. And the poor that cannot suddenly get work, fall to stealing, and be hanged at home. This could More tell in his Utopia, before he was the cardinal's sworn secretary, and fallen at his foot to betray the truth, for to get promotion.

Dissembled truce.

Henry V.

Take an example: the bishops sent king Henry the fifth out to conquer France. The cause was, saith the Chronicles, that the king went about to take their temporalties from them. And, therefore, to bring the king into another imagination, they monied him, and sent him into France.

King Henry V. conquered more than the prelates thought he should do.

When they had sent out the king, he conquered more than was their will, and more than they supposed possible for him, in so short space, and brought France clean under the foot; so that our prelates had much secret business to set it up again, but what is impossible unto so great gods?

Henry VI.

In king Henry's, the sixth, days, our holy father of Rome made the bishop of Winchester a cardinal, which went shortly after into France to treat of a truce between England and France. And him met a legate of Rome, and cardinal also: after which meeting, Englishmen had ever the worse in France, and their chiefest friend, the duke of Burgaine, forsook them. For when cardinals and bishops meet to-

gether, they have their secret council by themselves, wherein they conclude neither what is good for England, nor yet for France, but what is best for our holy father's profit, to keep him in his state. The crafty practice of the pope's legate.

When king Henry was of age, there was a marriage between him and the earl of Armagnac's daughter, in Ryan; with the which should have been given many castles and towns in Ryan, and a great sum of money thereto. But that marriage was broken, not without the secret working of our prelates, and dispensation of our holy father, thou mayest be sure. And a marriage was made between him and the king's daughter, of Sicily, for which England gave up the whole dukedom of Ryan, and earldom of Maine, whereby we lost all Normandy, whereof they were the key. And beside that, the commons gave a fifteen and an half, to fit her in with pomp. The marriage of king Henry VI.

And then was the good duke of Gloucester traitorously murdered; partly, because he could judge false miracles, and partly of the deliverance of these two countries. For he being alive, they durst not do it. The duke of Gloucester traitorously murdered.

And when king Edward had put down king Harry, a marriage was made and concluded between him and the king of Spain, this queen's mother that now is. But ere the ambassadors were come home, our prelates had bewitched king Edward by their apostle, friar Bungay, and married him unto a widow that was a knight's wife, lest if Spain and England had been joined together, king Edward should have recovered France again. Friar Bungay.

But what followed after the breaking off the marriage between king Edward and the earl of Warwick? and what came of his children? yea, and what came on king Henry of Windsor's children also? But what care our prelates what vengeance or mischief fall on princes, or on their realms, so their kingdom prosper! Cruel war between king Henry and the earl of Warwick.

In king Henry's days, the cardinal Morton, and bishop Fox, of Winchester, delivered unto the king's grace, the confessions of as many lords as his grace lusted. Whosoever was mistrusted, if he shrove himself at the Charter- Confession in the ear was a wicked invention.

houses, Sion, Greenwich, at St. John's, or wheresoever it was, the confessor was commanded by the authority of the pope to deliver his confession written, and sworn that it was all. And cardinal Morton had a licence of the pope for fourteen to study necromancy, of which he himself was one; and other I have heard named, which at this time I pass over with silence. And how the holy friar's observants carried feigned letters to try who was true, I pass over with silence also. Howbeit, such temptations and feigned proffers were enough to move them that never would have thought amiss: yea, and in confession, men will shrive themselves of thoughts which they never went about in the outward deed.

Licence of the pope for fourteen to study necromancy.

When any great man is put to death, how his confessor entreateth him, and what penance is enjoined him, concerning what he shall say, when he cometh unto the place of execution, I could guess at a practice that might make men's ears glow.

A subtle practice of prelates

And did not the subtle counsel of the said two prelates feign the siege of Boulogne to make a pretence to gather in a fifteen, when there was no more war between the king of France, and of England, than is between a man's head that hath lust to sleep and his pillow? which siege yet cost many a man their lives, yea, and some great men thereto, which knew not of that saying. The king's grace went over with a ten thousand men to conquer all France, and spent haply an hundred thousand pound, of which he saved the fourth part in the dandy prats, and gathered at home five or six hundred, or more. And two other such feigned voyages could I haply rehearse, which I pass over for divers causes, where many an Englishman lost his life. But what care they for men's lives?

He meaneth cardinal Wolsey.

And did not our Cardinal with like policy think ye, to gather that which he thought would not well be paid, except the commons saw some cause, bring a great multitude of Scots unto the English pale, either by some bishops of Scotland, or by some great man whom he cor-

rupted with some yearly pension? against which the poor northern men must go on their own cost to keep them out. And general procession was commanded at London thrice in the week, and throughout all the land, while the king's receivers gathered the tax of the common people. Which plague, and such like, after the threatening of God Lev. xxvi. and Deut. xxviii. and xxix. I am sure will fall on all Christendom without cease, until they either defy the name of Christ with the Turks; or, if they will be called Christian, they turn and look on his doctrine.

Lev. xviii. Deut. xviii. xix.

Yea, and what feigned the cardinal at that great loan to beguile his own priests to make them swear what they were worth, and the better willing to pay, for the common priests be not so obedient unto their ordinaries that they will pay money, except they know why. Now it is not expedient that every rascal should know the secrets of the very true cause, for many considerations. And therefore, another pretence must be made, and another cause alleged. And therefore, the priests were charged by their ordinaries to appear before the gentlemen of the country, and temporal officers, and swear what every man was worth. Now the priests had lever be slain, and die martyrs after the ensample of St. Thomas of Canterbury, than to swear before a lay judge, for they think it greater sin than to slay their own fathers, and that then the liberties of the church were clean lost, and they no better than the vile lay people. And when they were in that perplexity that they must either swear or run into the king's danger and lose their gods (I would say their goods) then my lord cardinal sent down his gracious power, that they should swear unto their ordinaries only. And then the priests, for joy that they were rid out of the laymen's hands, were so glad and joyous, that they wist not what thanks to give my lord cardinal, and so were obedient to swear, and to lend, or else for all the curses that my lord cardinal hath, and the pope too, they would neither have sworn, or paid a penny.

A practice of the prelates, with their poor priests.

THE PRACTICE OF OUR TIME.

Thomas Wolsey.

WHEN the king's grace came first to the right of the crown, and unto the governance of the realm young and unexpert, Thomas Wolsey, a man of lust and courage, and bodily strength, to do and to suffer great things, and to endure in all manner of voluptuousness; expert and exercised in the course of the world, as he which had heard, read, and seen much policy; and had done many things himself, and had been of the secret counsel of weighty matters, as subtle as Sinon, that betrayed Troy; utterly appointed to semble, and dissemble, to have one thing in the heart, and another in the mouth, being thereto as eloquent, as subtle, and able to persuade what he lusted to them that were unexpert: so desirous, and greedy of honour, that he cared not but for the next and most compendious way thereto, whether godly, or ungodly: this wily wolf, I say, and raging sea, and shipwreck of all England, though he shewed himself pleasant, and calm at the first (as whores do unto their lovers) came unto the king's grace, and waited upon him, and was no man so obsequious and servicable, and in all games and sports the first and next at hand; and as a captain to courage other, and a gay finder out of new pastimes, to obtain favour withal.

The description of cardinal Wolsey.

The king's birth, calked by the cardinal.

And thereto, as the secret communication went, which by many tokens thou mayest well conjecture and gather to be true, he calked the king's nativity and birth, which is a common practice among prelates in all lands, whereby, he saw whereunto the king's grace should be inclined all his life, and what should be like to chance him at all times.

Bishops calk king's nativities.

And as I heard it spoken of divers, he made by craft of necromancy, graven imagery to bear upon him, wherewith he bewitched the king's mind, and made the king to dote

upon him more than ever he did on any lady or gentlewoman, so that now the king's grace followed him, as he before followed the king. And then, what he said, that was wisdom; what he praised, that was honourable only. Moreover, in the meantime he spied out the natures and dispositions of the king's play-fellows, and of all that were great; and whom he spied meet for his purpose him he flattered, and him he made faithful in great promises, and to him he sware, and of him he took an oath again, that the one should help the other; for without a secret oath he admitted no man unto any part of his privities.

King Henry VIII. had cardinal Wolsey in great estimation.

And ever as he grew in promotions and dignity, so gathered he unto him of the most subtle witted, and of them that were drunk in the desire of honour, most like unto himself. And after they were sworn, he promoted them, and with great promises made them in falsehood faithful, and of them ever presented unto the king's grace, and put them into his service, saying, This is a man meet for your grace. And by these spies (if ought were done, or spoken in the court against the cardinal) of that he had word within an hour or two. And then came the cardinal to court with all his magic, to persuade to the contrary. If any in the court had spoken against the cardinal, and the same not great in the king's favour, the cardinal bade him walk, a villain, and thrust him out of the court headlong. If he were in conceit with the king's grace, then he flattered and persuaded, and corrupted some with gifts, and sent some ambassadors, and some he made captain at Calais, Ames, Guives, Jersey, and Guernsey, or sent them to Ireland, and into the north; and so occupied them, till the king had forgot them, and other were in their rooms, or till he had sped what he intended.

The manner and practice of cardinal Wolsey.

The king is betrayed.

And, in like manner, played he with the ladies and gentlewomen. Whosoever of them was great with her, was he familiar, and to her gave he gifts. Yea, and where St. Thomas of Canterbury was wont to come after, Thomas cardinal went oft before, preventing his prince, and per-

The queen is betrayed.

Note this devilish practice.

verted the order of the holy man. If any were subtle witted, and meet for his purpose, her made he sworn to betray the queen likewise, and to tell him what she said, or did. I know one that departed the court for no other cause, than that she would no longer betray her mistress.

And after the same ensample, he furnished the court with chaplains of his own sworn disciples, and children of his own bringing up to be alway present, and to dispute of vanities, and to water whatsoever the cardinal had planted. If among those cormorants any yet began to be too much in favour with the king, and to be somewhat busy in the court, and to draw any other way than as my lord cardinal had appointed that the plough should go, anon, he was sent to Italy, or to Spain: or, some quarrel was picked against him, and so was thrust out of the court, as Stokesly was.

The bishop of Lincoln.

He promoted the bishop of Lincoln that now is, his most faithful friend, and old companion, and made him confessor: to whom of whatsoever the king's grace shrove himself, think ye not, that he spake so loud, that the cardinal heard it? and not unright: for as God's creatures ought to obey God and serve his honour; so ought the pope's creatures to obey the pope, and serve his majesty.

Cardinal Wolsey ruled altogether.

Finally, Thomas Wolsey became what he would, even porter of heaven, so that no man could enter into promotion but through him.

THE CAUSE OF ALL THAT WE HAVE SUFFERED THESE TWENTY YEARS.

ABOUT the beginning of the king's grace that now is, France was mighty, so that I suppose it was not mightier this five hundred years. King Lewis of France had won Naples, and had taken Bononia from from St. Peter's see. Wherefore pope Julius was wrath, and cast how to bring the Frenchmen down, yet soberly, lest while he brought him lower, he should give an occasion to lift up the emperor higher. Our first voyage into Spain was to bring the Frenchmen lower. For our men were set in the fore-front and borders of Spain, toward Gascoyne, partly to keep those parties, and partly to fear the Gascoynes and to keep them at home, while in the mean time the Spaniards won Navarre. When Navarre was won our men came to house, as many as died not there; and brought all their money home again save that they spent there. Howbeit for all the loss of Navarre, the Frenchmen were yet able enough to match Spain, the Venetians, and the pope, with all the socheners that he could make; so that there was yet no remedy but we must set on the Frenchmen also, if they should be brought out of Italy.

King Lewis.

Pope Julius.

This is true story.

Then pope Julius wrote unto his dear son Thomas Wolsey, that he would be as good, as loving, and as helping to holy church as any Thomas ever was, seeing he was as able. Then the new Thomas, as glorious as the old, took the matter in hand and persuaded the king's grace. And then the king's grace took a dispensation for his oath, made upon the appoiniment of peace between him and the French king, and promised to help the holy seat wherein pope Peter never sat. But the emperor Maximilian might in no wise stand still, lest the Frenchmen should money him, and get aid of him, since the Almains refuse not money

The new Thomas.

Maximilian the emperor was king Henry VIII. his soldier.

whencesoever it be proferred; then quoth Thomas Wolsey, Oh, and like your grace, what an honour should it be unto your grace if the emperor were your soldier! so great honour never chanced any king christened; it should be spoken of while the world stood; the glory and honour shall hide and darken the cost that it shall never be seen though it should cost half your realm! *Dixit, et factum est.* It was even so. And then a parliament, and then pay: and then upon the French dogs with clean remission of all his sins that slew one of them, or if he be slain, (for the pardons have no strength to save in this life, but in the life to come only,) then to heaven straight, without feeling of the pains of purgatory.

Remission of sins.

Then came our king with all his might by sea and by land, and the emperor with a strong army, and the Spaniards and the pope, and the Venetians, all at once against king Lewis of France. As soon as the pope had that he desired in Italy, then peace immediately. And Frenchmen were christian men; and pity, yea, and great sin also, were it to shed their blood; and the French king was the most christian king again. And thus was peace concluded, and our Englishmen, or rather sheep, came home against winter, and left their fleeces behind them. Wherefore no small number of them while they sought them better raiment at home, were hanged for their labour.

Note here the subtilty and craft of the pope.

How king Henry VIII. with all his army was abused.

WHY THE KING'S SISTER WAS TURNED UNTO FRANCE.

WHEN this peace was made, our holy cardinals and bishops (as their old guise is to calk and cast forty, fifty, yea, an hundred years before, what is like to chance unto their kingdom) considered how the emperor that now is, was most like to be chosen emperor after his grand-

father Maximilian; for Maximilian had already obtained of divers of the electors that it should be so.

They considered also how mighty he should be; first king of Spain with all that pertaineth thereto, which was wont to be five, six, or seven kingdoms: then duke of Burgoine, earl of Flanders, of Holland, Zealand, and Brabant, with all that pertain thereto: then emperor, and his brother duke of Austria, and his sister queen of Hungary. Wherefore, thought our prelates, if we take not heed betimes, our kingdom is like to be troubled, and we to be brought under the feet; for this man shall be so mighty, that he shall with power take out of the French king's hands, out of the hands of the Venetians, and from the pope also, whatsoever pertaineth unto the empire, and whatsoever belongeth unto his other kingdoms and dominions thereto; and then will he come to Rome and be crowned there; and so shall he overlook our holy father and see what he doth: and then shall the old heretics rise up again and say that the pope is antichrist, and stir up again and bring to light that we have hid and brought asleep with much cost, pain, and blood-shedding, more than this hundred years long. Considered also that his aunt is queen of England, and his wife the king of England's sister; considered the old amity between the house of Burgoine and the old kings of England, so that they could never do aught in France without their help: and last of all considered the course of merchandize that England hath in those parts, and also the natural hate that Englishmen bear to Frenchmen. Wherefore if we shall use our old practice, and set the French king against him, then he shall lightly obtain the favour of the king of England, by the means of his aunt and his wife, and aid with men and money: wherefore we must take heed betimes and break this amity; which thing we may by this our old craft easily bring to pass. Let us take a dispensation and break this marriage, and turn the king's sister unto the French king: if the French king get a male of her, then we shall lightly

The prelates see ever beforehand what is like to follow.

Papists are great forecasters of perils.

Practice.

make our king protector of France, and so shall England and France be coupled together; and as for the queen of England, we shall trim her well enough, and occupy the king with strange love, and keep her that she shall bear no rule.

The king's sister sent to France.

And as the gods had spoken so it came to pass. Our fair young daughter was sent to the old pocky king of France, the year before our mortal enemy, and a miscreant worse than a Turk, and disobedient unto our holy father, and no more obedient than he was compelled to be against his will.

THE CAUSE OF THE JOURNEY TO CALAIS.

IN short space thereafter, Thomas Wolsey, now cardinal and legate a latere, and greatly desirous to be pope also, thought it exceeding expedient for his many secret purposes, to bring our king and the king of France that now is together, both to make a perpetual peace and amity between them, and that (while the two kings and their ladies dallied together,) the great cardinals and bishops of both parties might betray them both, and the emperor and all christian kings thereto.

Traitorous prelates.

Then he made a journey of gentlemen, arrayed altogether in silk, so much as their very shoes and lining of their boots, more like their mothers than men of war; yea I am sure that many of their mothers would have been ashamed of so nice and wanton array; howbeit they went not to make war, but peace, for ever and a day longer. But to speak of the pompous apparel of my lord himself, and of his chaplains, it passeth the twelve apostles. I dare swear that if Peter and Paul had seen them suddenly and at a blush, they would have been harder of belief that they or any such should be their successors, than Thomas Didimus was to believe that Christ was risen again from death.

The pomp and apparel of the cardinal, and his chaplains passed the twelve apostles.

When all was concluded between the king of France and ours, that Thomas Wolsey had devised, and when the prelates of both parties had cast their penny-worths against all chances, and devised remedies for all mischiefs, then the right reverend father in God Thomas, cardinal and legate, would go see the young emperor newly chosen to the room, and have a certain secret communication with some of his prelates also. And gat him to Bruges, in Flanders, where he was received with great solemnity, as belongeth to so mighty a pillar of Christ's church; and was saluted at the entering into the town of a merry fellow, which said, *Salve rex Regis tui, atqué regni sui.* Hail both king of thy king, and also of his realm. And though there were never so great strife between the emperor and the French king, yet my lord cardinal juggled him favour of them both; and finally brought the emperor to Calais, to the king's grace, where was great triumph, and great love and amity shewed on both parties, insomuch that a certain man marvelling at it, asked the old bishop of Durham, how it might be that we were so great with the emperor so shortly, upon so strong and everlasting a peace made between us and the Frenchmen, the emperor and the king of France being so mortal enemies? My lord answered, That it might be well enough if he wist all: but there was a certain secret (said he) whereof all men knew not. Yea, verily, they have had secrets this eight hundred years, which though all the laymen have felt them, yet few have spied them, save a few Judases, which for lucre have been confederate with them to betray their own kings and all other.

Prelates.

Salutation.

Cardinal Wolsey was a subtle worker.

A certain secret.

Then were we indifferent and stood still; and the emperor and the French king wrestled together; and Ferdinandus, the emperor's brother, won Milan of the Frenchmen, and the emperor, Tournay, our great conquest; which yet after so great cost in building a castle, we delivered up again to the Frenchmen, in earnest and hope of a marriage between the Dauphin and our princess.

Milan.

Tournay.

HOW THE EMPEROR CAME THROUGH ENGLAND.

The emperor came through England.

AFTER that the emperor would into Spain, and came through England, where he was received in great honour, and with all that pertaineth to love and amity. The king's grace lent him money, and promised him more: and the emperor should tarry a certain years and marry our princess; not that the cardinal intended that, thou mayest be sure; for it was not profitable for their kingdom: but his mind was to dally with the emperor, and to keep him without a wife, that (insomuch as he was young and lusty) he might have been noselled and entangled with whores, (which is their nurturing of kings) and made so effeminate and beastly, that he should never have been able to lift up his heart to any goodness or virtue; that cardinals and bishops might have administered his dominions in the mean time, unto our holy father's profit.

Nurturing of kings.

Practice.

The French king sendeth a defiance to king Henry VIII.

The king of France hearing the honour that was shewed unto the emperor, sent immediately a defiance unto our king, not without our cardinals' and bishops' counsel thou mayest well wit. For Frenchmen are not so foolish to have done it so unadvisedly and so rashly, seeing they had too many in their tops already. Then our king spake many great words, that he would drive the French king out of his realm, or else the French king should drive him out of his. But had he added as the legate Pandulph taught king John, with the pope's licence, his words had sounded much better. For there can no vow stand in effect, except the holy father confirmed it.

Armies sent into France.

We sent out our soldiers two summers against the Frenchmen, unto whose chief captains the cardinal had appointed how far they should go, and what they should do; and therefore the French king was nothing afraid, but brought all his power against the emperor in other places: and so was the emperor ever betrayed. And thus the cardinal

was the emperor's friend openly, and the French king's secretly. For at the meeting with the French king beside Calais, he utterly betrayed the emperor, yet for no love that he had to France, but to help the pope, and to have been pope haply, and to save their kingdom. Which treason though all the world smelled it, yet it brake not out openly to the eye, till the siege of Pavia. And the cardinal lent the emperor much money openly, and gave the French king more secretly. He played with both hands to serve their secret that all men know not, as the bishop of Durham said. But whatsoever the Frenchmen did, they had ever the worse, notwithstanding the secret working of our holy prelates on their side.

The cardinal was the emperor's friend openly, and the French king's secretly.

The siege of Pavia.

Finally unto the siege of Pavia came the French king personally, with sixty thousand men of war, of which twelve thousand were horsemen; and with money enough. And the emperor's host was under twenty thousand, of which were but three thousand horsemen; with no money at all. For he trusted unto the pope for aid of men, and unto our cardinal for money. But the pope kept back his men, till the Frenchmen had given them a field; and our cardinal kept back his money for the same purpose. And thus was the silly emperor betrayed, as all his predecessors have been this eight hundred years. Howbeit there be that say, that the emperor's soldiers so threatened Pace, the king's grace's ambassador, that he was fain to make chevisance with merchants, for money in the king's name, to pay the soldiers withal. Wherefore the cardinal took from him all his promotions, and played tormentors with him, when he came home; because he presumed to do one jot more than was in his commission. But howsoever it was, the emperor's men, in tarrying for help, had spent out all their victuals. Whereupon Bourbon the chief captain of the emperor, said unto his under captains: Ye see, help cometh not, and that our victuals are spent; wherefore there is no remedy but to fight, though we be unequally matched. If we win we shall find meat enough;

Pavia.

A false pope, and lewd cardinal.

Pace, the king of England's ambassador.

Bourbon.

if we lose, we shall lose no more than we must lose with hunger though we fight not. And so they concluded to set upon the Frenchmen by night. The king of France and his lords supposing that the moon would sooner have fallen out of the sky, than that the emperor's host durst have fought with them, were somewhat negligent, and went the same night a mumming that Bourbon set upon them. The emperor's host therefore with their sudden coming upon them, amazed the Frenchmen, and drave them upon heaps together one on another, so that they never could come in array again; and took the king, and divers of his lords, and slew many and won the field. And there came out all the cardinal's privy treason: for in the French king's tent (say men) were letters found; and beside that, in the French king's treasure, and in all the host, among the soldiers were English ships found innumerable, which had come sailing a thousand miles by land. But what wonder! ships be made to sail over the sea; and wings to fly into far countries, and to mount to the top of high hills.

The emperor setteth upon the French king by night.

These ships were English angels of gold.

When the French king was taken, we sang Te Deum. But for all that singing we made peace with Frenchmen. And the pope, the Venetians, France, and England, were knit together; lest the emperor's army should do any hurt in France. Whereby ye may conjecture of what mind the pope and the cardinal were toward the emperor; and with what heart our spiritualty with their invisible secrets, sang Te Deum. And from that time hitherto, the emperor and our cardinal have been twain.

At the taking of the French king Te Deum was sung, and great triumph made in England.

After that when the king of France was delivered home again, and his sons left in pledge; many ways were sought to bring home the sons also: but in vain, except the French king would make good that which he had promised the emperor. For the bringing home of those children, no man more busied his wits than the cardinal. He would in any wise the emperor should have sent them home; and it had been but for our king's pleasure for the great kind-

ness that he shewed him in times past. He would have married the king's daughter, our princess, unto the dauphin again; or, as the voice went among many, unto the second brother; and he should have been prince in England, and king in time to come: so that he sought all ways to pluck us from the emperor, and to join us unto France, to make France strong enough to match the emperor, and to keep him down; that the pope might reign a god alone, and do what pleaseth him, without controlling of any overseer. And for the same purpose he left nothing unprovided to bring the mart from Antwerp to Calais.

Subtle practices of the cardinal.

The mart should have been at Calais.

WHY THE QUEEN MUST BE DIVORCED.

IF the cardinal could by such means have made us French, the queen had been queen yet; yea, though she had not been his wife. Neither would he have been more about to separate her, than he hath been to separate other that indeed were not his wives, but hath been rather diligent to couple them to him, to pluck him from his right wife: lest if she had been (as right is) in his favour, she should have given his grace better counsel for the realm than he hath followed; and lest also the prince's grace should have been moved, through her, more to have favoured the emperor.

But when there was found not other way, he inspired the king that the queen was not his wife, by the bishop of Lincoln his confessor: as the saying was, by whom he hath breathed many things into his grace, and by whom he hath heard his confession, and by whom, and like hypocrites, he hath long betrayed him to have married him unto the king's sister of France, as the fame went, by that means at the last to make us French. And then the cardinal's doctors laid their heads together to seek subtle arguments and

The bishop of Lincoln.

riddles to prove his divorcement. But all the chancellors of England (say men) which be all lawyers, and other doctors mumpsimuses of divinity were called up suddenly to dispute the matter (under a colour to condemn Bilney and Arthur heard I say) which is their old cast and subtilty to pretend a contrary thing, and to cast a mist before the eyes of the people, to hide their juggling; that no man should once surmise whereabout they went. And the cardinal's secretaries ministered reasons unto them. And so the matter was discussed with a plain conclusion that he must be divorced. When the queen was warned, she desired learned counsel to defend her quarrel, that she should have no wrong; and it was granted her. And she chose, but alas what choice is there among the fox's whelps? All that be shaven be sworn together. And all that be promoted by them must play the Judases with them. They may, to blind the world withal, dispute one against another, but the conclusion shall be the pope's profit, prelates' pleasure, and the lusts of princes, which are their defenders. Finally, it is concluded that the queen is not his wife, and the cause why they be not divorced, is peradventure that our prelates are afraid. If they could have brought any marriage about to join us unto France, it had been done long since; but because they cannot (for the French king's sister knew too much of Christ to consent unto such wickedness) haply they would it were undone. I doubt not but they bear the king's grace in hand that the pope dare not confirm it for fear of the emperor; but I doubt not, if they feared not the emperor and the lords and commons, it had been done already.

After that my lord cardinal with More, his sworn secretary, and the bishop of London, that still Satan, the imaginer of all mischief, went to France to juggle secretly, and carried with him more than he brought home again. This is of a truth that he carried great treasure with him. The French gallies lay long in Thame's mouth, and not for nought. The fame went plain, yea, and I know also one

that saw in my lord cardinal's court letters sealed with the king's great seal, wherein was contained that the French king should have of us money sufficient for to find twenty thousand men against the emperor in Italy, from the second day of July, in the year of our Lord fifteen twenty-seven, forward.

But among all other, as soon as the pope was taken, the cardinal wrote unto the emperor that he should make him pope. And when he had got an answer that pleased him not, but according unto his deservings toward the emperor, then he was furious mad, and sought all means to displease the emperor, and imagined this divorcement between the king and the queen, and wrote sharply unto the emperor with menacing letters that if he would not make him pope he would make such ruffling between the princes as was not this hundred year, to make the emperor repent: yea, though it should cost the whole realm of England.

A ruffler.

The Lord Jesus be our shield. What a fierce wrath of God is this upon us that a misshapen monster should spring out of a dunghill into such a height that the dread of God and man laid apart, he should be so malapert not only to defy utterly the majesty of so mighty an emperor, whose authority both Christ and all his apostles obeyed, and taught all other to obey, threatening damnation to all them that would not: but should also set so little by the whole realm of England, which hath bestowed so great cost and shed so much blood, to exalt and maintain such proud, churlish, and unthankful hypocrites, that he should not care to destroy it utterly for the satisfying his villanous lusts.

The pride and arrogance of cardinal Wolsey.

The emperor sent forth a little book in print both in Spanish and also in Dutch, in which he answereth unto the cardinal's menacing, and unto many articles that the cardinal layeth against him, and among all other repeateth this threatening of the cardinal. Ye will (saith the emperor) to do me displeasure, if I will not make you pope, set such a ruffling among christian princes as was not this

The emperor writeth against the cardinal.

hundred year, though it should cost you the whole realm of England. Whereunto the emperor answereth, saying, Ye go about to give your king another wife, which if you do, it may be the next way to cost you the realm of England. And I believe verily, that the prophecy of this caitiff Caiphas the cardinal, through the mischief that he hath wrought for the divorcement of the marriage, shall be fulfilled, and that it will cost the whole realm of England, if it be not seen to betimes. By what means I will show you after that I have spoken a word or two of his divorcement.

OF THE DIVORCEMENT.

IF the king's most noble grace will needs have another wife, then let him search the laws of God, whether it be lawful or not, forasmuch as he himself is baptized to keep the laws of God and hath proposed them and hath sworn them. If the law of God suffer it, then let his grace put forth a little treatise in print, and even in the English tongue, that all men may see it, for his excuse and the defence of his deed, and say, Lo, by the authority of God's word do I this. And then let not his grace be afraid either of the emperor, or of his lords, or of his commons, and subjects. For God hath promised to keep them that keep his laws. If we care to keep his laws, he will care for the keeping of us, for the truth of his promises. If it be found unlawful, then let his grace fear God and cease to shame himself and his blood, his lords, his subjects, and his realm, and specially the blessed name of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his holy doctrine, and the profession of our faith. For whosoever professeth the faith of Christ and liveth contrary unto his doctrine, shameth the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Moreover, whatsoever God

coupled man may not loose, no, though he name himself pope. Wherefore if this marriage be of God, the pope cannot dispense with it, for God hath given no power against himself: but to preach his ordinances only hath he given power. Therefore if we will see what is right and what is wrong, let us bring it unto the light of God's law, and let us submit our causes unto the judgment thereof, and be content to have our appetites slain thereby, that we lust no farther than God's ordinance giveth us liberty. For verily to desire more than God permitteth, is to tempt God, and to provoke wrath and indignation upon us, unto our destruction, as the children of Israel did under Moses and perished. Whose froward deeds are warning for us (saith Paul, 1 Cor. x.) that we, feared with the terrible ensample of their fall, should abstain from like wickednesses.

The pope hath no authority against God.

The controversy and strife of the matter and all the doubt and difficulty standeth in this: that Moses in the xviiith of Leviticus saith, Thou shalt not unheal the secrets of thy brother's wife, for they are thy brother's secrets. Which is as much as to say, as thou shalt not take thy brother's wife. And in the xxvth of Deut. he saith, That if a man die without issue, his brother must marry his wife. Which two texts seem contrary, the one forbidding, the other commanding, a man to take his brother's wife. Wherefore that we may come unto the true sense and clear meaning of these two texts, and that we may perceive also the ground of the reason that may be made by both parties by the occasion of these texts, and see which reasons do conclude, ye shall understand that the law of Moses is divided into three parts. Part of his laws are ceremonies, that is to say, signs that put men in remembrance either of the benefits of God done already, as the Easter lamb; either signs of the promise and appointment made between God and man, as circumcision; or signs that testify unto the people that the wrath of God is peaced, and their sins forgiven, as all manner of sacrifices: which all cease as soon as Christ had offered up the sacrifice of his body and blood

The cause that maketh the doubt, whether a man may marry his brother's wife.

for us. And instead of them come the open preaching of Christ, and our signs which we call sacraments.

The law of penalty.

Another sort are laws of penalty or punishment to avenge sin if it break out and hurt a man's neighbour, as tooth for tooth, eye for eye, and that the blood-shedder must have his blood shed again, and the breaker of wedlock must be stoned: which laws were given unto the Jews only, and we heathen or Gentiles are not bound unto them, that we should punish every sin after the same manner; but it is enough that every land punish their trespassers as it seemeth best for the commonwealth there, some of one manner and some of another.

The law natural.

Another part pertain unto faith and love; and that a man believe how that there is but one God, and that he is true, good and merciful in all things; and therefore ought to be believed, trusted and loved with all a man's heart, soul, mind and strength: and that a man love as himself for God's sake which hath created him and made him. And this is the law of nature, and pertaineth unto all nations indifferently with all that dependeth or followeth thereof. This law was also before Moses: insomuch that though Moses had never written it, yet had the Jews been no less bound thereto by nature and by natural right and equity. For whosoever is of God, the same consenteth unto his law, and unto all that followeth thereof natural, when he heareth it preached, as he consented that the fire is hot, when he putteth his finger in it.

All laws spring out of one.

Moreover, whosoever hath this law graven in his heart, this same keepeth all laws, and whosoever hath it not written in his heart, the same keepeth no law. For whosoever believeth that there is one God, and loveth him with all his heart, with all his soul, mind and strength, (which is the first of the ten commandments pertaining unto the person of God) the same will worship nothing of his own imagination without God's word: and then he can make none image to worship it. Which is the second commandment per-

taining unto the person of God. He cannot also for very love sake take the name of God in vain, and swear by it unreverently: and so thou hast the third commandment pertaining unto the person of God. Furthermore, he that believeth God, and hath his trust only in him, and loveth him as I said, cannot but keep his holy day, not after Moses's fashion, but spiritually: that is, he cannot but observe a time to wait on God's word, to hear it, and learn it, and to knowledge his sin before God, and to desire him of his mercy, according to his promises and testament which he hath made with us: and so thou hast the fourth commandment pertaining unto the person of God. Last of all, he that so loveth God cannot disobey father and mother, in which two names are contained all high powers; as grandfather, grandmother, aunt, uncle, king, lord, master, husband, and so forth, persons here in God's stead, by which he made us, and by which he feedeth us, clotheth us, governeth us, teacheth and ruleth us. And thus thou hast the five commandments, which all pertain unto the person of God. For the obedience of father and mother, and of all high powers which rule the world in God's stead, pertaineth unto the person of God, and must be done with love as unto God's self.

Furthermore, he that loveth God, hath this commandment also, that he love his brother or neighbour, in the fourth chapter of the first Epistle of John. For how can a man love the father, and hate the son, whom the father loveth? Even so how canst thou love God the Creator, and hate that creature whom he hath created and made after his own likeness; and so loveth him, that he hath made him lord over all other creatures, and thereto hath given his own Son unto the death, for his sake, to shew him kindness, that he might so love, and to love again? How can I love our Saviour Jesus Christ, and hate him whom he hath bought with his blood? Though the son be never so evil, yet if I love his father heartily, I cannot

but be sorry that the son is evil, and wish him good in mine heart, and help to the uttermost of my power. Even so, though my neighbour be never so evil, yet as long as I love God, and Christ our Saviour, with all mine heart, I cannot but love him, and help to better him with all my power, until he run so far, that he beginneth to fight against God, and to destroy the law of God, and the testament that God hath made unto man. Then I hate and dishonour God the make thereof. If I break it resist him with all my power, as God hath taught me to resist.

Now if I love my neighbour in God faithfully and unfeignedly, then I cannot find in my heart to slay him: neither to defile his wife: neither to steal his goods: nor to bear false witness against him: neither can mine heart covet his house, wife, man-servant or maid from him, either ox, ass, or whatsoever is his. And thus hast thou other five of the ten commandments, pertaining all unto the person of thy neighbour. This is the law of nature, whose servants Moses and the prophets were, to teach it the Jews, and whose servant Christ our Saviour was, for our sakes, with his apostles, to teach it us. And it is an everlasting law, and pertaineth indifferently to all nations, with all that hangeth thereof; insomuch that though a man be never taught it, yet if it be not found written in his heart, he is the heir of damnation.

Solutions.

Now they that study to make this divorcement between the king's grace and the queen, will haply say, that the first text is a law, depending of which law natural, (for undoubted it is no ceremony, nor yet law of penalty) and therefore pertaineth unto all men indifferently, and ought to be kept of all nations; and that the second is a ceremony, and therefore ceaseth at the coming of Christ. I answer: If it be a ceremony, then it is a sign, and must have a signification. It must signify some benefit of God done already, or some vengeance taken for sin, or some promise, or something that I must do or leave undone at

Ceremonies have significations

the commandment of God. Now the signification of it they will shew me when our lady hath a new son.

Moreover, there is no ceremony of Moses, but that I may keep it this day as an indifferent thing; howbeit, not as a thing so necessary unto my soul's health, that I should think that I sinned if I did not. But I may eat the Easter lamb of passover every year, when the time cometh, if I will. And I may circumcise myself for my pleasure, as well as pare my nails, if I list. And I may burn the blood and fat of oxen and calves unto this day without sin, as an indifferent thing; and give this signification thereto, that as the fat consumeth in the fire, even so doth the sin of all men that repent consume in the hot fire of the love of God to usward, in Christ Jesus the Lord; and so forth. If it be a ceremony, then, how happeneth it that this one ceremony is unlawful among all other?

Ceremonies be made of lawful things.

Thereto, inasmuch as Moses in all his laws sought the glory of God, and the pureness of his people, as he boasteth of himself, (Deut. iv.) saying, What nation hath ordinances and laws so righteous as all this law, which I set before you! How cometh it that Moses was driven into so great a strait, that he would find nought to make a ceremony of, but that which of his own nature is damnable and filthy among the heathen, which heathen made as just laws out of the law natural graven in their hearts, as Moses did. Might not the heathen of good right say: See what a filthy nation it is, they marry every one his brother's wife, as hounds. And so the law shamed the name of God, and honoured it not. If Moses gave his people two contrary commandments, then he was an indiscreet lawgiver, yea, and devilish thereto. For then I cannot but be damned whatsoever I do. If a man say that the first pertaineth unto us heathen, and the last unto the people of Israel, that soundeth not; for when all the other laws contained in the same chapter, and in all his books, pertained unto the same people, how should he, among so many belonging unto them, mingle one for us

heathen only, to whom he was no lawgiver; and namely, when he wist that one as wise as he should come and teach us, which is our Saviour Jesus Christ.

If a man will say, the first is a law, and the second a permission, as the permission of divorcements, when a man did hate his wife: nay, verily, it is not a permission, but a flat command, and that under pain of great shame and rebuke unto the man, if he did it not, and under the loss of all her husband's possession unto the woman, if she offered not herself. Of which law, also, because thou needest not to dream of a ceremony, a man may shew a good natural reason, profitable unto the commonwealth. For a woman when she is married, she forsaketh her father's kin, and bringeth her dowry with her, and taketh her name among her husband's kin. Now if her husband die childless, it is not reason that she should be cast out of the kin empty, neither is it right that she should carry her husband's possessions out of his kin away with her, and that a stranger should get a child of her, to possess them. Thou wilt say that the lands might return unto the next of his kin, and the wife have a portion her life long only. Then should great possessions come into the hands of one man, and so should there many tyrants rise among the people. Which to avoid, God ordained that the lands should be scattered even among as many as might be of the same kin, and for the same cause would suffer no man to buy any lands for ever. For God thinketh it better for his commonwealth, that twenty should spend twenty or forty shillings, than that one should spend twenty or forty pounds, and nineteen never a whit: for then must many poor hang on one rich; which rich for the most part be of corrupt minds, and so sensual that they will look of no man to do him good, except it will be on such as will follow their lusts. And so should the people follow the will of man, and not of God, and be compelled to live wickedly,

and to murder, steal, and oppress their brethren, to fill their bellies withal.

Moreover, it was a law in the time of the law natural, four hundred years before Moses, that a man should marry his brother's wife, as thou seest Genesis xxxviii. Also, Moses forbiddeth not a man, when his wife is dead, to marry her sister. If one man marry two sisters, why may not one woman marry two brethren? Are not two sisters as nigh of kin as two brethren?

How the text is to be understood.

Wherefore I see no remedy, but that a man must understand the text thus: That Moses forbiddeth a man to take his brother's wife as long as his brother liveth: as in the text following, when he forbiddeth a man to take his neighbour's wife, he meaneth while his neighbour liveth. For after his death it is lawful. And therefore John rebuked Herod for taking his brother's wife from him, his brother being yet alive. Or at the uttermost, if they will strive and shew no cause why, it can extend no further than that a man may not take his brother's wife, if he have issue by her. Which I suppose an indifferent thing to have her or not, as they can agree: but if his brother die childless, then he ought to have her, and yet she is bound to offer herself to the other brother by the law of Moses, and that it is lawful now, though no commandment.

If it be understood of a man's brother's wife, he being alive, then haply ye will say that it is superfluously added of Moses; for it is included in that which followeth immediately, that a man shall not take his neighbour's wife. Nay, verily: for it is another sin, and a more greater sin for a man to take his brother's wife than his neighbour's wife that is no kin to him; because that my neighbour's shame is not my shame. For let my neighbour be hanged, and no man casteth that in my teeth. But my brother's shame is my shame, and the shame of my father and mother, and of all my kin. For let whatsoever rebuke it be chance my brother, and it is cast in my teeth, and in the teeth of my father and mother,

and of all my kin immediately. Wherefore, to be so forgetful of natural honesty, that I should defile my brother's wife unto mine own shame and all my kin, is more grievous and heinous, (as they say) and springeth of greater lewdness or malice, than to take my neighbour's wife which is not of my kin. And this doth the xxth chapter of the said Leviticus prove, were Moses saith, If a man lie with his brother's wife, they shall die immediately, and not tarry the birth. As Judah would have burnt Tamar, his daughter-in-law, being yet great with child. (Gen. xxxviii.)

They will haply say also, that if it be to be understood of a man's brother, while his brother liveth: then they will understand of the father's and uncle's wives also, while the father and uncle live. Nay, verily, it is far unlike. For my father's wife and mine uncle's wife are my superiors, and persons unto whom I owe obedience by the means of my father and uncle. Now if I should marry them, then I should make them my servants, for the wife must obey her husband; and so permit I the law of nature and natural equity, and honesty. Ye will say that when my father and uncle be dead, the obedience is loosed. Verily, it might well stand with the pope's doctrine, for he thrusteth kings down and emperors thereto, and exalteth their sworn subjects into their rooms: he raketh one out of the dunghill on the one day, and out of the most low and vile kind of subjection, and maketh him on the morrow superior unto his own prince, and to all the laws of his realm in worldly pomp and dignity. But God teacheth his children to humble themselves. And Christ teacheth his disciples to come lower and lower. I suppose, therefore, that a man ought much more to do them service, and obey them, and to give them honour and reverence now after the deaths of their husbands, than before. Moreover, ye see that a man may not marry his daughter-in-law after his son's death, by the story of Judah. (Gen. xxiii.) And again, ye see that David, after the death of his son

Absalom, would not meddle with his own wives, which his son had before corrupt; but shut them up in perpetual widowhood. Now if the father, after the death of his son, abstain from her that was one flesh with his son for natural reverence; how much more ought the son, after the death of his father, to abstain from her that was one flesh with his father, to whom also, by the reason of his father, he oweth obedience thereto?

Moreover, if a woman should find a man-child by the streets, and bring him in, and find him up of nought; I would not by my will that she should after marry with him, for perverting of due obedience, which she should haply as unnaturally, even so shrewdly give unto him again. If she obeyed not, with what face should he correct her? If he corrected her, what would she cast in his teeth, and what wondering would neighbours make? What reverence and service then suppose ye would nature (if we were not so corrupt minded) teach us to give unto the father's and uncle's wife?

And to go through all the degrees that are forbidden: the mother, grandmother, aunts, father's wife and uncle's wife, are persons to be obeyed as God, with all reverence and service. The daughter and daughter's daughter, and son's daughter, are a man's wife's flesh. The wife's mother and grandmother are persons to be obeyed, besides that the wife is your flesh. Now between a man and his wife's sister when she is dead, and his brother's wife when his brother is dead, is there no such cause as between these persons.

And concerning the maid-children, though they be under the obedience of their uncles; yet because if any be married unto her uncle, she bideth in obedience still; therefore it is not utterly forbidden. And ensamples there be, that maidens have married unto their uncles: which thing yet I could not have drawn into a common use without necessity, or for a commonwealth.

And concerning the sister; she is of equal birth to her brother. It is to be feared, therefore, lest her obedience would be less to her brother than to a stranger. Then note the grief of father and mother, if they agreed not. Moreover, if he were an unkind husband, then had she double sorrow; first, because he is unkind, and also because she hath lost the comfort of a brother. Then the familiar bringing up together. And beside all those and such like, there is yet another, (which I think the chiefest of all) that the sending out of daughters into another kin, and receiving again out of another kin, is the greatest cause of peace and unity that is in the world. And, therefore, the heathen people forbad that degree in the laws.

Nevertheless, the marriage of the brother with the sister is not so grievous against the law of nature (thinketh me) as the degrees above rehearsed. And, therefore, it seemeth me, that it might be dispensed with in certain cases, and for divers considerations. It would be hard to prove that Sarah was not Abraham's sister, whom I think he married because there were none other faithful women that believed in God. Moreover, the greatest cause to send the daughter out, is unity and peace between divers kindreds.

Wherefore, if greater peace and unity might be made with keeping her at home, I durst dispense with it. As if the king of England had a son by one wife, heir to England, and a daughter by another, heir to Wales: then, because of the great war that was ever wont to be between those two countries, I would not fear to marry them together, for the making of a perpetual unity, and to make both countries one, for to avoid so great effusion of blood. For which cause, I would God that our princess had been married unto the king of Scots. And I doubt not but that had it been concluded long ago, if it had been as greatly unto the profit of the pope and his pilpates; I would say prelates; as it were to the honour of God. But it is not profitable for them that any king-

dom should be strong and mighty, lest if God should open the eyes of the king, the pope should have too much ado to resist him, and to send in other kings upon him, to conquer his realm.

I did my diligence a long season, to know what reasons our holy prelates should make for their divorcement, but I could not come by them; I searched what might be said for their part, but I could find no lawful cause of myself, by any Scripture that I ever read; I communed with divers learned men of the matter, which also could tell me no other way than I have shewed. Then I considered the falsehood of our spiritualty, how that it is but their old practice, and a common custom; yea, and a sport to separate matrimony, for to make division where such marriage made unity and peace. Wherefore I could not but declare my mind, to discharge my conscience withal; which thing I had done long since, if I could have brought it to pass. Howbeit, I had lever now do it at the last, than that any man should cast me in the teeth in time to come, when this old marriage were broken, and a new made, why I had not spoken rather? Neither can the king's grace, or any other Christian man of right be discontent with me. For it is not possible that any person baptized in the heart with repentance of evil; and with faith of forgiveness in the blood of Christ, and stedfast purpose and profession of heart, to walk henceforth after the steps of Christ, in the law of God, should once desire or will to do ought openly with long deliberation, that he would not have compared with the law of God, to see whether it were right or not.

Some man might haply say, that though a great man would be content to have his deeds compared unto the laws of God, he would disdain yet to have so vile a wretch as I am, to dispute of them.

I answer, that it is not my fault, but God's, which for the most part even chooseth of the vilest, to confound the glorious, which not only clothed his Son with our vile

nature, but made him also of the very lowest sort of man, even five hundred steps beneath the degree of a cardinal, and sent him to rebuke the scribes and the pharisees which sat on Moses' seat, for their evil doing and false doctrine, besides the law of Moses. And the glorious scribes and the pharisees, for all their holiness, rebuked not Herod, nor Caiphas and Anna for all their highness; but vile John the Baptist. By what authority? Verily, by the authority of God's word; which only, whatsoever garment she wear, ought to have all authority among them that have professed it. That word is the chiefest of the apostles and pope, and Christ's vicar, and head of the church, and the head of the general council. And unto the authority of that ought the children of God to hearken without respect of person, for they that are of God, hear God's word. (John vi.) And Christ's sheep hear Christ's voice; (John x.) yea, though he speak by a calf.

Ye will haply say, my reasons be not good. They may be the sooner solved, and shall thereto make the contrary part better, and set it out, and make it appear to all men's sight, and stablish it; and so they shall do good every way.

BY WHAT MEANS THE DIVORCEMENT SHOULD COST THE REALM.

NOW to that I promised, how that I would shew you by what means this marriage might cost the realm of England, according to Caiphas, the cardinal's blind prophecy. This is first as sure as the winter followeth the summer, that our prelates have utterly determined that this marriage that is between the king and the queen must be broken; and so is the princess disinherited, and the king of Scots next to the crown. And we may fortune to

find one at home, which because he is near hand, would look to step in before him, and it may chance thereto that another yet will look to come in as soon as any of both: peradventure, the third born at home may make friends likewise; yea, and so forth. And then while ye shed each other's blood, our prelates will sit and laugh, and look upon you out of sanctuary; and when every man hath done his best, they will think to make them a defender wheresoever shall please them best.

The king's grace, will ye say, shall have another wife, and she shall bear him a prince, and he shall break strife. Who hath promised him a prince? Moreover, if his new marriage be not well proved, and go forth with good authority, so shall we yet follow the princess still; or if she be sent another way, some other whom we shall suppose more righteous inheritor; and so the new prince is like to go after king Henry of Windsor's prince, and king Edward's children.

And I will tell you yet another sport. As soon as the cardinal had sent the emperor a defiance, and upon defiance had arrested the emperor's ships in England, and our ships and men were arrested also in all regions of the emperor; then went the common fame throughout all Dutchland, that the emperor's counsel, Holland, Brabant and Zealand, had determined, if the war had proceeded, to have set up the king of Denmark that was, to have challenged his right in England. For the Danes challenge England, as we challenge France, and the king of Denmark writeth himself king of England, as our king writeth himself king of England and France. And this once: the old king of Denmark, with his son, a goodly prince, if he had lands, shall never come in Denmark again, of any likelihood. Wherefore, if ye fall together by the ears, may he not by some chance, if God be angry with you, make an appointment with the king of Scots to come in upon you on the one side, and make for his part what friends he can in Dutchland, and send unto the new king of Denmark, and

give up his title for ever to get rid of him, so to come in on the other side, and conquer you? And twenty other ways are ye like to come in danger, which I commit unto your own consideration.

THE PUTTING DOWN OF THE CARDINAL.

Cardinal Wolsey a great traitor.

AND finally concerning the cardinal's putting down, I consider many things. First, that I never heard or read that any man, being so great a traitor, was so easily put to death. Then the natural disposition and inclination of the man, how that his chief study, yea, and all his felicity and inward joy, hath ever been to exercise that angel's wit of his (as my lord of Lincoln was wont to praise him) in driving of such drifts to beguile all men, and to bind the whole world withal. Wherefore I can none otherwise judge by an hundred tokens, evident unto whomsoever hath a natural wit, but that this is also nothing save a cast of his old practice; so that when God had wrapped him in his own wiles that he wist not which way out, (for the emperor prevailed for all the cardinal's treason, and the French children might not come home: and he had learned also of his necromancy, that this would be a jeopardous year for him,) what for the treason that he had wrought against the emperor, and what for the money which he had borrowed of the commons, lest any rising should be against him, then he thought to undo his destiny with his policies, and went and put down himself under a colour (which the process of the tragedy well declareth) and set up in his room to minister forth, and to fight against God as he had begun, the chiefest of all his secretaries, one nothing inferior unto his master in lying, feigning, and bearing two faces in one hood; a whelp that goeth not out of kind from his sire; the chiefest stale wherewith the cardinal caught the king's grace, whom he called unto the confirmation of all that he intended to persuade; saying,

Cardinal Wolsey committeth treason against the emperor.

If it is like your grace, More is a learned man, and knoweth it, and is also a layman, wherefore he will not say otherwise than it is, for any partiality to usward. Which secretary yet must first deserve it with writing against Martin, and against the Obedience and Mammon, and become the proctor of purgatory, to write against the supplication of beggars.

Cardinal Wolsey preferred More to be chancellor.

And then, to blind the world withal, many quarrels were picked: the cardinal might not speak with the king's grace, the broad seal was fetched away, high treason was laid to his charge. First, that he breathed (heard I say) in the king's face when he had the French pox: (O hypocrites!) but the very treason that he had wrought was not spoken of at all, nor aught worthy of a traitor done to him at all.

Treason laid to the cardinal's charge.

Then they called a parliament (as though the golden world should come again) wherein the hypocrites, to blear men's eyes withal, made a reformation of mortuaries, and probates of testaments: the root yet left behind whence all that they have for a time weeded out will spring again by little and little as before, if they, as their hope is, may stop this light of God's word that is now abroad. They made also a reformation of pluralities of benefices, ordaining that henceforth no man may come by plurality of benefices with virtue and cunning, but with serving for them in the court. Which what other thing is it save plain simony? O blind buzzards and shameless hypocrites, what care they to do, whether against God or their own laws, to flatter great men withal and to blind them! But hark here: the tithes were ordained at the beginning to find the preachers and the poor people which now go a begging; so that the church-wardens ought to take the benefices into their hands in the name of the parish, and deliver the preacher of God's word their dwelling, and present a sufficient living, and divide the rest among the poor people. And the king is bound to maintain that order, and not to resist them except he will be an open tyrant. Now I appeal to the consciences of the king's grace and of his lords. What

Mortuaries, probate of testaments.

Pluralities of benefices.

Tithes.

The church-wardens have been accustomed to gather the tithes, and to give the parson his reasonable stipend, and to give the rest to the poor.

answer will they give when they come before Christ in the last judgment, for their robbing of so many souls in so many parishes of God's word, with holding every man so many chaplains in their houses with pluralities of benefices, and for the robbing of so many poor and needy of their due and daily food; whose need, for lack of succour, crieth to God continually for vengeance against them, which we see daily by a thousand misfortunes fall on them, and on their wives and children. Let them read Exodus and Deuteronomy and see what they find there. Yea, and what shall so many chaplains do? first slay their souls, and then defile their wives, their daughters, and their maidens, and last of all betray them.

Princes have here much to answer.

When this reformation, the colour and cloak of their hypocrisy, was made, then the spiritualty came ducking before the king's grace, and forgave him the money which they had lent their pope to bring in the temporalty; and to make them after their ensample to do likewise, as loving subjects, and no less kind unto their prince than the spiritualty. For their arses were upon thorns till the loan was forgiven, for fear of afterclaps. Whereupon the temporalty forgave their part also in hope of that they obtained not. For as soon as the loan was forgiven the parliament broke up; because our prelates and their confederate friends had found that they sought and caught the fish for which they laid the bait, of all those faces of reformations; and for which the cardinal, to bring the world into a fool's paradise, was compelled even with his own good will to resign his chancellorship, and that to whom he listed himself. And as for the bishopric of Durham, to say the very truth, he could not of good congruity but reward his old chaplain, and one of the chief of all his secretaries withal; still Satan, that so seldom speaketh, but walketh up and down all day musing and imagining mischief, a ducking hypocrite, made to dissemble.

The loan first forgiven by the clergy.

The loan forgiven by the temporalty.

The bishopric of Durham.

Which, for what service done in Christ's gospel, came he to the bishopric of London; or what such service did he

therein? He burnt the New Testament, calling it *doctrinam perigrinam*, strange learning. Yea, verily, look how strange his living, in whose blood that Testament was made, was from the living of the pope; even so strange is that doctrine from the pope's law, in which only, and in the practice thereof, is Tonstal learned. Which also for what cause left he the bishopric of London? even for the same cause he took it after that he had long served for it, covetousness and ambition. Neither is it possible naturally, that there should be any good bishop, so long as the bishoprics be nothing save worldly pomp and honour, superfluous abundance of all manner [of] riches, and liberty to do what a man listeth unpunished; things which only the evil desire, and all good men abhor.

Tonstal bishop of Durham burnt the New Testament.

A bishopric is a superfluous honour and a lewd liberty.

And as soon as the parliament was ended, the cardinal had his charter and gat him home; and all bishops gat him every fox to his hole; leaving yet their attornies behind them, to come again themselves as soon as the constellation is somewhat overrun, whereof they be afraid.

The cardinal clearly discharged.

WHAT THE CAUSE OF ALL THIS MISCHIEF IS.

WHENCE cometh all this mischief? verily it is the hand of God, to avenge the wantonness of great men, which will walk without the fear of God, following the steps of the high prelates, contrary unto their profession, and to avenge also the wrongs, the blasphemies and subtle persecuting of his word.

For when Martin Luther had uttered the abominations of the pope and his clergy, with God's word, and divers books were come into England, our cardinal thought to find a remedy against that well enough, and sent to Rome for this vain title, Defender of the faith; which the vicar of Croydon preached, that the king's grace would not lose for all London and twenty miles round about it. Neither is it marvel, for it had cost more than London and

Defender of the faith.

forty miles about it is able to make (I think) at this hour; beside the effusion of innocent blood that was offered unto the idol, and daily is offered thereto. When this glorious name was come from our holy father, the cardinal brought it unto the king's grace at Greenwich. And though the king had it already and had read it, yet against the morning, were all the lords and gentlemen that could in so short space be gathered together, sent for, to come and receive it with honour. And in the morning after, the cardinal gat him through the back side into the friar observants. And part of the gentles went round about and welcomed him from Rome, as representing the pope's person; part met him half way, part at the court gate, and last of all the king's grace himself met him in the hall, and brought him up into a great chamber, where was a seat prepared on high for the king's grace and the cardinal, while the bull was read; insomuch, that not the wise only, but men mean of understanding, laughed the vain pomp to scorn, not far unlike to the receiving of the cardinal's hat. Which when a ruffian hath brought unto him to Westminster under his cloak, he clothed the messenger in rich array and sent him back to Dover again; and appointed the bishop of Canterbury to meet him, and then another company of lords and gentles, I wot not how oft, ere it came to Westminster; where it was set on a cupboard and tapers about, so that the greatest duke in the land must make courtesy thereto, yea, and to his empty seat, he being away.

The title of the defender of the faith came from Rome.

The popish and vain glorious manner of of cardinal Wolsey.

The cardinal's hat.

The falsest and vainest cardinal that ever was.

And shortly, for lack of authority of God's word, Martin must be condemned by the authority of the king. And the king's grace, to claw the pope again, must make a book, in which to prove all that they would have stablished, for lack of Scripture, yea, and contrary to the open Scripture, is made this mighty reason: such prelates are the church, and the church cannot err, and therefore, all that they do is right, and we ought to believe them without any Scripture, yea, and though the Scripture be

The church erreth, if the pope and bishops be the church.

contrary. Wherefore, God (offended with such blasphemy, to make his enemies feel that they would not see in the open Scripture, nor in the practice of their livings and doings, clean contrary unto the Scripture, and unto the living of Christ, and his apostles, this eight hundred years,) hath poured his wrath upon us, and hath snared the wise of the world with the subtilty of their own wits. For either the pope and cardinals with other prelates that made this first marriage, or they that would break it, err, to speak no more grievously.

Martin Luther submitted himself to king Henry VIII.

Moreover, when Martin Luther had submitted himself in an epistle, let his grace consider what answer he gave again. Where is the glory of the great praise become, that his grace gave the cardinal for his goodly acts, and benefits which all the common wealth of the whole realm should feel? And let his grace remember how he inveigheth against Martin's wedlock, and fear lest God, to avenge wilful blindness, tangle his grace with matrimony (beside the destruction of the realm that is like to follow) much more dishonourable than his grace thinketh Martin shameful. His grace promised to keep his wedlock as well as Martin did his chastity: and his grace's vow hath authority of God, and Martin's not, but is damned by the word of God as he did vow, and as the hypocrites do yet teach to vow.

More is proved a liar.

And More among his other blasphemies in his dialogue saith, that none of us dare abide by our faith unto the death: but shortly thereafter, God, to prove More, that he hath ever been a false liar, gave strength unto his servant, Sir Thomas Hitton, to confess, and that unto the death, the faith of his holy Son Jesus; which Thomas, the bishops of Canterbury and Rochester, after they had dieted and tormented him secretly, murdered at Maidstone most cruelly.

Sir Thomas Hitton.

I beseech the king's most noble grace, therefore, to consider all the ways by which the cardinal and our holy bishops have led him, since he was first king; and to see

whereunto all the pride, pomp, and vain boast of the cardinal is come, and how God hath resisted him and our prelates in all their wiles. We, having nothing to do at all, have meddled yet in all matters, and have spent for our prelates' causes more than all Christendom, even unto the utter beggaring of ourselves, and have gotten nothing but rebuke and shame and hate among all nations, and a mock, and a scorn thereto, of them whom we have most holpen.

A dance in Paris.

For the Frenchmen (as the saying is) of late days, made a play, or a disguising at Paris, in which the emperor danced with the pope and the French king, and wearied them, the king of England sitting on a high bench, and looking on. And when it was asked, why he danced not, it was answered, that he sat there but to pay the minstrels their wages only.

As who should say, we paid for all men's dancing. We monied the emperor openly, and gave the Frenchmen double and treble secretly, and to the pope also. Yea, and though Ferdinandus had money sent him openly to blind the world withal, yet the saying is throughout all Duchland, that we sent money to the king of Pole, and to the Turk also, and that by help of our money Ferdinandus was driven out of Hungary. Which thing, though it were not true, yet it will breed us a scab at the last, and get us with our meddling more hate than we shall be able to bear, if a chance come, unless that we wax wiser betime.

Here Tyndale prayeth for the ceasing of persecution.

And I beseech his grace also, to have mercy of his own soul, and not to suffer Christ, and his Holy Testament, to be persecuted under his name any longer, that the sword of the wrath of God may be put up again, which for that cause, no doubt is most chiefly drawn.

And I beseech his grace to have compassion on his poor subjects, which have ever been unto his grace both obedient, loving, and kind; that the realm utterly perish not, with the wicked counsel of our pestilent prelates. For, if his grace, which is but a man, should die, the lords and commons, not knowing who hath most right to enjoy

the crown, the realm could not but stand in great danger.

Tyndale prayeth the understanding of such as of right should succeed to the crown.

And I exhort the lords temporal of the realm, that they come and fall before the king's grace, and humbly desire his majesty to suffer it to be tried, who of right ought to succeed, and if he or she fail, who next, yea, and who third. And let it be proclaimed openly. And let all the lords temporal be sworn thereto, and all the knights, and squires, and gentlemen, and the commons, above eighteen years old, that there be no strife for the succession. For if they try it by the sword, I promise them, I see none other likelihood, but that as the Cardinal hath prophesied it will cost the realm of England.

Tyndale warneth all the cardinal's secretaries to repent, and turn to God.

And all that be sworn unto the cardinal, I warn them yet once again, to break their oaths, as I did in the Obedience. And all my lord cardinal's privy secretaries and spies, by whom he worketh yet, I warn them to beware betime. My lord cardinal, though he have the name of all, yet he wrought not all of his own brain: but of all wily and exercised in mischief, he called unto him the most expert, and of their counsel and practice gathered that most seemed to serve his wicked purpose.

A general exhortation to all kinds of people.

And all that be confederate with the cardinal, and with the bishops upon any secret appointment, be they never so great, I rede them to break their bonds, and to follow right by the plain and open way, and to be content, and not too ambitious; for it is now evil climbing, the boughs be brittle. And let them look well on the practice of bishops, how they have served all other men in times past, and into what troubles they have brought them that were quiet. Many a man, both great and small, have they brought to death in England, even in my days, (beside in times past) whose blood God will seek once. Let them learn at the last that it is but the cast of the bishops to receive the Sacrament with one man secretly upon one purpose, and with another man as secretly upon the contrary, to deceive all parties. For of perjury they make as

Popish bishops make no account of perjury.

much conscience, as a dog of a bone; for they have power to dispense with all thing, think they.

At the beginning of the war, between the French king and the emperor, the prognostication said, year by year, that there should be great labour for peace; but it shall not come to pass, for there is *Bicorporeum*, or *Corpus neutrum*, that cometh between and letteth it: that is to say, a body that is nether-nother, or holdeth on nether part; and that body is the spiritualty, which hold but of themselves only. For when any ambassadors go between to entreat of peace, the bishops are ever the chief, which, though they make a goodly oration for the peace only, to deceive the laymen, yet, secretly by the bishops of the same country, they cast a bone in the way, and there can be no peace, until the peace be for their profit, let it cost in the mean season what blood it will.

The spiritualty are neither of the one side nor of the other, for there is no truth in them, more than shall serve their turn.

And as for them, which for lucre, as Judas, betray the truth, and write against their consciences; and which for honour, as Balaam, enforce to curse the people of God; I would fain (if their hearts were not too hard) that they did repent. And as fain I would, that our prelates did repent, if it were possible for them to prefer God's honour before their own. And let them remember what wrong they have done to the queen, and what fruit they have lost her that never could come unto the right birth, for sorrow which she suffered through their false means; than which, what greater treason could they work unto the realm of England?

An admonition to all subjects.

And unto all subjects I say, that they repent. For the cause of evil rulers is the sin of the subjects, testifieth the Scripture. And the cause of false preachers is, that the people have no love unto the truth, saith Paul 2 Thess. ii. We be all sinners an hundred times greater than all that we suffer. Let us therefore, each forgive other, remembering the greater sinners the more welcome, if we repent, according to the similitude of the riotous son. (Luke xv.) For Christ died for sinners, and is their

Luke xv.

Saviour, and his blood their treasure to pay for their sins. He is that fatted calf which is slain to make them good cheer withal, if they will repent, and come to their father again. And his merits is that goodly raiment, to cover the naked deformities of our sins.

These be sufficient at this time, although I could say more, and though other have deserved that I more said: yea, and I could more deeply have entered into the practice of our cardinal, but I spare for divers considerations; and namely for his sake, which never spared me, nor any faithful friend of his own, nor any that told him truth; nor spareth to persecute the blood of Christ, in as clear light as ever was, and under as subtle colour of hypocrisy as ever was any persecution since the creation of the world. Neither have I said for hate of any person or persons, God I take to record; but of their wickedness only, and to call them to repentance, knowledging that I am a sinner also, and that a grievous. Howbeit, it is a devilish thing, and a merciless, to defend wickedness against the open truth, and not to have power to repent. And therefore, I doubt not, if men will not be warned hereby, but that God will utter more practice by whom he will, and not cease until he have broken the bond of wily hypocrites which persecute so subtilly.

Here Tyndale shewed himself to be void of malice to any private person.

And, finally, if the persecution of the king's grace, and of other temporal persons conspiring with the spiritualty, be of ignorance, I doubt not, but that their eyes shall be opened shortly, and they shall see, and repent, and God shall shew them mercy. But, and if it be of a set malice against the truth, and of a grounded hate against the law of God by the reason of a full consent they have to sin, and to walk in their old ways of ignorance, whereunto (being now past all repentance) they have utterly yielded themselves, to follow with full lust, without bridle or snaffle, which is the sin against the Holy Ghost; then ye shall see even shortly, that God shall turn the point of the sword, wherewith they now shed Christ's blood, home-

God is merciful to the ignorant, but he pleaseth the malicious and and wilful offender.

ward to shed their own again after all the ensamples of the Bible.

The obedience of a christian man, written three years before this book.

And let them remember that I, well toward three years agone, to prevent all occasions and all carnal beasts that seek fleshly liberty, sent forth The true Obedience of a Christian Man, which yet they condemned, but after they had condemned the New Testament, as right was, whence the Obedience hath his authority. Now then, if when the light is come abroad, in which their wickedness cannot be hid, they find no such obedience in the people unto their old tyranny, whose fault is it? This is a sure conclusion: none obedience that is not of love cannot long endure; and in your deeds can no man see any cause of love: and the knowledge of Christ, for whose sake only a man would love you, though ye were never so evil, ye persecute. Now then, if any disobedience rise, are ye not the cause of it yourselves?

Say not but that we be warned!

NOTES.

NOTES.

P. 1. l. 20, 21. *I wot not how many thousand heresies.*] Bishop Tonstal, in a sermon, openly protested that he had found in Tyndale's Translation of the New Testament no less than two thousand corruptions.—G. Martin's discovery of the manifold corruptions of the holy Scriptures, by the heritics of our daies, specially the English sectaries, and of their foule dealing herein, by partial and false translations to the advantage of their herisies, in their English Bibles used and authorised since the time of schisme. Pref. 25th sect. 8vo. Rhemes, 1582.—See Fulke's Defence of the English Translations of the S. S. London, 1583, p. 5.

" Athaliah (2 Kings xi. 14.) did craftily to cry out first Treason, treason,—when she was the greatest traitor herself; and this Martin, concious of the *many* and *foul* corruptions in his own Rhemish translation, politickly complained of the faults in our English Bible." Gregory Martin was born at Maefield, in Sussex. He died Oct. 28. 1582, and lyeth buried in the Parish Church of St. Stephens, in *Rhemes*.—Fuller's Worthies. Sussex. p. 3.

Dr. Robert Ridley in a Letter to Maister Gold respecting Tyndale's Translation writes: " Shew ye to the people that if any be of so prowde and stuburne stomac that he will beleve ther is no fawt ne errours except it be declared to hym that he may se it, latt him cum hither to my lord (bishop Tonstal) which hath profowndly examined al, and he shal heir and see errours except that he be blynde and have no eyes." He had previously observed that, " he is not *filius Ecclesiæ Christi* that wold

receave a godspel of such damned and precised heretikes thewh it wer trew.'—See Memorials of William Tyndale, and some of his Contemporaries.

P. 2. l. 8. *Duns or such like devilish doctrine.*] John Duns Scotus, denominated the " most subtle doctor," born (it is said in Rees's Cycl." probably at Dunstance, near Alnwick, in Northumberland;" but more probably) at Duns, in the county of Berwick. Some, however, will have him born at Down, in Ireland; and that Duns was only a contraction of Dunensis. Archbishop Spotswood proves him a Scotchman from the inscription on his tomb: *Scotia me genuit, Anglia suscepit, Gallia edocuit, Germania tenet.* His education was commenced at an institution belonging to the Franciscan Friars at Newcastle, and completed at Merton College, Oxford; where he became a fellow, and distinguished himself by his proficiency in scholastic theology, civil and canon law, logic, metaphysics, mathematics, and astronomy. He went from Oxford to Paris, where he attained the most distinguished honours, and was appointed professor and regent in the theological school. He was at first a follower of Thomas Aquïnas, but differing from " the angelical doctor" on the efficacy of divine grace, founded a new sect, and hence originated the denominations *Thomists* and *Scotists*. Duns was a zealous advocate for the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary. He died 1308, at Cologne. A complete collection of his works was published by Lucas Waddinggus, at Lyons, in 1639, in 12 vols. folio. His editor styles him " Theologorum omnium princeps." See Rees's Cycl. *Duns.* Mosh. Eccl. Hist. sec. 14. Brucker's Hist. Phil. Enfield, vol. ii. p. 379. Turner's Hist. of Eng. during the middle ages, vol. iv. p. 519. Tanner, Bib. 239. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. i. 506. Spotswood's Ch. Hist. of Scotland. Pits de Illust. Angl. Script.

The justice of Tyndale's censure of the writings of the Schoolmen, and the perfect agreement which, in this respect, existed among all the reformers of the English Church, will be seen in the progress of the present work. The enlightened and ever

memorable Colet, and his bosom-friend Erasmus, commenced this attack; and they were followed by Stafford, Latimer, Cranmer, and their contemporaries, until the study of the Scriptures and the classics was substituted for the "tryflynge workes of the sophisters, sentencyoners, schole doctours, canonysts, and summystes. As are Dons, Dorbell, and Durande, Thomas of Aquine, Geralde and Gyles of Rome, Bonaventure, Baconthorpe and Guido, Caldrinus, Bobius and Baldus, Parormius, Rosellus and Roxius, wyth an infynyte rable of suche dyrtye dottages and fylthy dregges." Bale's Image of both Churches: Paraph. on Rev. ch. vi. sign. M. ii. b. See Knight's Life of Colet, and Jortin's Life of Erasmus, passim.

Perhaps I shall be excused for yet farther extending this note, with an extract from a letter of Richard Layton to lord Cromwell on his visitation of the University of Oxford, A. D. 1535. "We have sett Dunce in Bocardo, and have utterly banisshede hym Oxforde for ever, with all his blind glosses, and is nowe made a comon servant to evere man, faste nailede up upon postes in all common howses of easement. *Id, quod oculis meis vidi.* And the seconde tyme we came to New Colege, affter we had declarede your Injunctions, we fownde all the gret quadrant Court full of the leiffs of Dunce, the wynde blowying them into evere corner; and ther we fownde one Mr. Grenefelde, a gentilman of Bukynghamshire, getheryng up part of the said bowke leiffs (as he saide) there to make him sewells or blawnsherrs to kepe the dere within the woode, thereby to have the better cry with the howndes."—M. S. Cotton. Faustina. C. vii. fol. 205. Ellis's Orig. Lett. second series, vol. ii. p. 61.

P. 2. l. 22. *lever*] rather; the comparative degree of lefe, lief, leef or leve.

> "Now, wif, quod he, here n'is but thou, and I,
> Thou art the creature that I best love:
> For by that Lord that sit in heven above,
> I had *lever* dien on a knif,
> Than thee offenden, dere trewe wif."
>
> Chaucer's Cant. Tales. V. 10034--8. Edit. 1822.

" Die had she *lever* with enchanters knife,
Than to be false in love."
Spencer, F. Q. I. IV. 6.

" I had *lever* my commission were openly knowyn then to be kept cecret."—Letter of Sir John Wallop to Henry VIII. M.S. 1527.

P. 3. l. 21. *Than they read in their Portesses.*—See p. 263. l. 16.] The Portesse was the Breviary which contained not only the office of the mass, but all the services except the form of marriage.—Ellis's Orig. Lett. vol. i. p. 10.

Portuasses are mentioned among other prohibited books in the Stat. 3 and 4. E. VI. c. 10. And in the Parliament Roll of 7 E. IV. n. 40. there is a Petition, that the robbing of *Porteous* Grayell, Mannell, &c. should be made felonie without clergy; to which the King answered, *Le Roy s'avisera.*—Tyrwhit's Notes upon the Canterbury Tales. vol. iv. p. 280.

" Also we thonke your noblesse and good ffaderhod of our grene gownes nowe late send unto us to our grete comfort; beseeching your good lordeschip to remember our *Porteux*, and that we myght have summe fyne bonetts, send unto us by the next secure messig, for necessite so requireth."—Letter of Edward the Fourth when Earl of Marche. M. S. Cotton Vesp. F. fol. 9.

" For on my *Portos* here I make an oth,
That never in my lif, for lefe ne loth,
Ne shal I of no conseil you bewray,
The same agen to you, quod she, I say.
By God and by this *Portos* I you swere,
Though men me wolden all in peces tere,
Ne shal I never, for to gon to helle,
Bewrey o word of thing that ye me tell."
Chauc. C. T. v. 13061—8.

" Among theyr vnknowen Latin houres, theyr masses, and theyr diriges, lyeth theyr plentuouse patrimonye in theyr *Por-*

tasses and 'masse books."—Bale's Image of both Churches, second part, sign. K. 4. b.

"But herein your nature (Maister Cope) doth right well appeare. First in the sayd booke of Actes and Monumentes; where many other good thinges be conteyned, not vnfrutefull nor vnprofitable peraduenture for the instruction of your conscience, and wherein my labours perhaps might haue deserued your thankes, all that you dissemble and passe over, onely excerpting those matters which make for cauillation. Thus the blacke spider out of pleasaunt or fruiteful flowres sucketh his poyson. And what book is so pleasaunt or fruitefull, though it were the pope's own *Portuous*, [*Portues*, Edit. 1641.] yea his own Decretals, yea his own very masse booke, to the reading wherof if I brought the like mynde so disposed to cauill, as you bryng to the reading of my historie, but I could finde out twise as many *mendacia, maculas, impudentias, dolos, malos fabulas, fucos*, as you have done in these Actes and Monuments. And yet you have done pretely well."—Acts and Mon. Edit. 3. 1576. vol. i. p. 559.

"Briefly, except it be the bookes onely of the New Testament, and of the Olde, what is almost in the pope's Church, but either it is mingled or depraued, or altered or corrupted, either by some additions interlased, or by some diminution mangled and gelded, or by some glose adulterate, or with manifest lies contaminate. So that in theyr doctrine standeth little truth, in theyr Legendes, *Portues*, and Masse Bookes lesse trueth, in theyr Miracles and Reliques least truth of all. Neyther yet doe theyr Sacramentes remayne cleare and voyd of manifest lyes and corruption. And specially here commeth in the mayster bee, which bringeth in much sweet hony into popes' hiues, the maister lye, I mean of all lyes, where the pope leauing not one cromme of bread nor drop of wine in the reuerent communion, vntruly and idolatrously taketh away all substaunce of bread from it, turning the whole substaunce of bread into the substaunce of Christ's own body: which substaunce of bread, if the pope take from the Sacrament, then must he also take the breaking from it; for breaking, and the body of Christ can in nowise stand litterally together by the Scripture. Thus then as this is proued by the

word of God to be a manifest lye: so thinke not much (good reader) hereat, as though I passed the bondes of modestie in calling it the archlye or a maister lie of all lies. Because vppon this one, an infinite number of other lyes and errours in the pope's churche, as handmaydes, doe wayte and depend."—Acts and Mon. Ed. 4. 1583. vol. i. p. 584.

For the derivation of the word, and other examples of the different ways in which it is spelt, see Du Cange, Todd's Johnson's Dict. Nare's Glossary, and Wordworth's Eccl. Biog. vol. ii. p. 237.

P. 3. l. 25. *Linwode, a book of Constitutions.*] Lindwood's name is variously spelt, as in the text, and Linwod, Linwood, Lynwood, Lindwood, Lyndewode, Linnehod, Lynnehode, &c.

"At this time *William Linwood* finished his industrious and useful work of his *Constitutions*. He was bred in *Cambridge*, first *scholar* of *Gonville*, then *Fellow of Pembroke Hall*. His younger years he spent in the study of the Laws, whereby he gained much wealth, and more reputation. Afterwards (quitting this practice) he betook himself to the *court* and became keeper of the Privy Seal unto king Henry the Fifth, who employed him on a long and important embassy into Spain and Portugal.

"*Linwood* being no less skilful in *Civil* than *Canon Law*, performed the place with such exemplary industry and judgement, that had not the king's sudden death prevented it, he had been highly advanced in the commonwealth. Afterwards he reassumed his officials place at *Canterbury*, and then at spare hours collected and digested the constitutions of the fourteen latter Archbishops of *Canterbury*, from Stephen Langton to Henry Chichely, unto whom he dedicated the work, submitting the censure thereof to the Church. A worthy work, highly esteemed by foreign lawyers: not so particularly *provincial* for *England*, but that they are useful for other countries, his comment thereon being a *Magazine* of the *Canon Law*. It was printed at Paris, 1505, (but at the cost and charges of *William Bretton*, an

honest merchant of London) revised by the care of *Wolfgangus Hippolius*, and prefaced unto by *Jodocus Badius*. This *Linwood* was afterward made bishop of *Saint David's*, whose works (though now beheld by some as an *Almanack out of date*) will be valued by the judicious whilst learning and civility have a being."—Fuller's Church Hist. b. iv. pp. 175, 176.

I cannot dismiss this Note without introducing the name of CHRISTOPHER ENDHOWEN, who printed a beautiful editon of this work at Antwerp, in the same year, (1526) in which HE *printed the first edition of Tyndale's Testament.*—See Mem. of Tyndale, &c. The best edition, however, of Lindwood's Constitutions, is that printed at Oxford, 1679.

P. 4. l. 8. *Erasmus whose tongue, &c.*] Perhaps Tyndale might have spared this rebuke of Erasmus, as the praise he rendered to Tonstal was no more than a natural expression of gratitude and friendship; but it seems that his commendation had excited expectations in Tyndale which had been disappointed. The impartial Jortin admits the truth of the reflection, in its general application to this great man. "He had" says he (and this it is to be remembered was as early as 1524) "for some time seemed to take delight in speaking against the Reformers to the Roman party, that he might preserve their favour, and perhaps (though himself might hardly be sensible of it) with some view to secure his own revenues. If he had had no dependance upon that party, which in his letter to Melanchthon he calls *the popish sect*, and which in his letters to the papists he calls *the Catholic Church*, and nothing to hope or to fear from that quarter, he would probably have been less upon the reserve." Jortin's Eras. vol. i. pp. 344, 5. Edit. 1758.

"I cannot believe that the fear of losing his pensions, and of coming to want, made him say and do things which he thought to be unlawful: but it may be fairly supposed, that he was afraid of disobliging several of his oldest and best friends, who were against the Lutheran Reformation; of offending not only Henry VIII. and Charles V. and the Popes, and George of

Saxony, and Wolsey, &c. but his patron Warham, Montjoy, More, Tonstal, Fisher, Campegius, Bembus, Sadolet, and many others whom he loved entirely, and to some of whom he was much obliged. These things might influence his* judgment, though he himself was not at all aware of it." Jortin's Eras. vol. i. p. 275.

P. 4. l. 11. *Erasmus's Annotations.*] There were five editions of the Annotations, printed in the years 1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535. Tyndale used the fourth edition, in which the name of Tonstal is first introduced. The third edition mentions only Montjoy, Warham, and Wolsey. In the fourth and fifth editions, and in Le Clerc's edition of his works, the passage, to which Tyndale refers, reads thus:

" Quid enim dicam de Britannia, ubi tot mihi sunt Mœcenates, inter quos primus clarissimus Baro Gulielmus Montjoius, proximus Gulielmus, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis et totius Angliæ Primas, tertius Thomas Cardinalis Eboracensis, vir acerrimi judicii: summus Rex ipse, non minus animi quam fortunæ bonis florentissimus, quorum uterque et benignitate sua ultro fovet olium nostrum, et, si libeat, invitat ad ampliora. Joannem Fiscerum Episcopum Roffensem in hoc catalogo, in quo magis expenduntur suffragia quam numerantur, unum pro multis numerare poteram. Deinde Cutbertum Tunstallum, Episcopum quondam Londoniensem, nunc Dunelmensem. In Gulielmi Warami munus successit Thomas Cronmerus, vir non professione tantum Theologus, sed et animo moribusque vere theologicis, qui in favore erga me nequaquam cedit ei, cui succedit. Adde his Joannem Longloldom, Episcopum Lincolniensem, libris etiam editis clarum."—Eras. Oper. tom. vi.

One instance of Tonstal's kindness to Erasmus, and his notice of it, may be selected from his Letters. " Cum apud me solicitus essem, quibus verbis illi gratias agerem, ille ultro quin-

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* In cases like this,

Beneficium accipere, est libertatem vendere.

quaginta scutatos Gallicos addidit, nec ulla ratione licuit excusare. Dispeream, si quid habet hæc ætas cum eo viro conferendum.'—Ep. 241. c. 1658, as cited by Jortin, vol. i. p. 111.

P. 4. l. 15. *Sir Harry Gilford*] Spelt also Guldeford, Guilford, and Guildford. " Henry Guldeforde, or Guilford, was one of the greatest ornaments of the court of Henry VIII. In the early part of his life, he served with reputation in the wars with the Moors in Spain, under Ferdinand and Isabella. His learning and personal qualities recommended him to the esteem of the great Erasmus, with whom he held a correspondence. In the seventh year of Henry VIII. he was constituted master of the horse for life.'—Ob. cir. Æ. 40. Granger's Biog. Hist. of Eng. vol. i. p. 64. Edit. 1769.

P. 4. l. 27. *well find*]—conveniently provide for; *find*, to supply with money and necessaries. See p. 417. *to find poor people withal*; and p. 423. *the finding of all the poor; the finding of scholars, &c.*

" Poure puple bed reden, and persones in stocks
Find hem for Godes love."

Paraphrase.—Feed poor bed-ridden people and prisoners for the love of God.—P. Plouh. p. 148. Dr. Whitaker's Edit. 1813.

P. 6. l. 16. *lewd*] ignorant; unlearned.

" For *lewed* peple loven tales olde;
Swhiche thinges can they wel report and holde."
Chauc. C. T. v. 12371.

" *Lewede* men lyved hym wel."
P. Plouh. p. 4.

"Thus it by longeth for lorde, for lered and *lewede*
Eche halyday to huyre hollythe the service."—P. Plouh. p. 159. l. 6,7.

"Against the wittie gifte of shootinge in a bowe
Fonde and *leude* wordes thou *leudlie* doest out throwe,
Which, if thou wilte heare of me a worde or twayne
Quicklie thou mayst learne how fondlie thou doest blame."
Ascham's Toxophilus. Edit. 1571. fol 20.

"Cannot be quiet scarce a breathing-while
But you must trouble him with *lewd* complaints."
Shakes. Rich. III. Act. 1. Sc. 3.

"Hereby is plainly seen, how learning is robbed of the best wits; first, by the great beating, and after, the ill choosing of scholars to go to the universities: whereof cometh partly that *lewd* and spiteful proverb, sounding to the just hurt of learning, and shame of learned men, that the greatest clerks be not the wisest men."—Ascham's Works, p. 206. Edit. 1815.

"This false persuasion of lerning, wherewith the deuyle inueigleth the simple and ingendreth in them a pride of conning and vnderstanding, which they haue not, is the foundacion and roote, wherupon is buylded and groweth false doctrine, in the high misteryes of our religion; and specyally in the moost blessed Sacrament of thaulter, wherin diverse have of late peruersely reasoned, and vnlearnedly spoken with such presumptuouse pryde, and intollerable arrogancye, as declare plainly the same to procede of the spirite of the deuyle full of errours, and lyes, blyndenes, and ignorance; by reason wherof, they stumble in the playne waye, and can not see in the mydde daye. For what can be more euydently spoken of the presence of Christe's naturall bodye and bloud, in the moost blessed Sacrament of the aulter, then is in those wordes of Scripture whiche our Savioure Christ ones said, and be infallible truth, and styl saith, in consecration of this most holy Sacrament by the common ministre of the Churche: "This is my body." But against this truthe, the deuyle striueth, and fyghteth by his ministers, and *lewde* apostles, with sophisticall deuyses, wherewith he troubleth the grosse imaginacions of the symple people."—Gardner's Detection of the Devil's Sophistry, &c. fol. 5. Lond. 1546.

"Yet to cloke your false speach with hipocrisie, you saye

properly, that Christ consecrateth himselfe in those formes of bread and wine, with which worde consecrate, you iugle by your divilish sophistirie. For if ye meane, he heloweth himselfe with bread and wine (which your word consecrate doeth signifie) as *lewde* as you take vs, we would laught at your folie. If you woulde saye by that worde, he tourneth himselfe into the fourme of breade and wyne: so then your doctrine is that Christe cometh vnto vs in breade and wine. And we saye that he is comen all redie, and in the fleshe, and in the same fleshe is gone vp to heauen, and from thense shall come to iudge all fleshe."—A. Gilby's Ans. to Devil. Detect. fol. 14.

"It is ouermuche shame to vse Christes worde as our enchauntment ouer deade creaturs to chaung them (no man can tell howe) to call downe Christe into breade, to bringe hym into the chalice: where he, beinge a whyle blessed and blowene wyth your stinkeinge breathes shall tarie so longe a God, as it shall please man, yea and that scant an honest man sometimes. Surely, it maketh us *leude* people, to think that you do not take him as a God when we see you so vnreuerently, breathe on him, make him leape about the chalice, break hym, and that nothinge after the institucion wherin we shoulde all together be partetakers of the breade and cup of Christe for the foode of oure soules."—Gilby, fol. 37.

For the gradual changes in the meaning, and the various applications of the words lewd, lewdness, &c. see Mr. Todd's Johnson's Dict. and Dr. Jamieson's Dict.

P. 6. l. 21 and 25. *to improve*] to reprove; to rebuke; to refute. "All Scripture geven by inspiracion of God, is proffitable to teach, to *improve*, to amende and to instruct in rightewesnes." (2 Tim. iii.)—Tyndale's Testament, Second Edit. 1534.

"And yet the booke of Common Prayer neyther useth any suche speach nor giveth any suche doctrine, nor I in no pointe *improve* that godly booke, nor varye from it. But yet glad I am to heare that the sayd book lyketh you so well, as no man can mislyke it, that hath anye godlynes in hym ioyned with

knoweledge.'—Cranmer's Answer to Gardner. p. 60. Ed. 1551.

"When he (Paul) comuned with Peter and the hie apostles, of his gospel and preaching thei coulde *improve* nothing, nether teach him ani thing."—Obed. of a Christ. Man. Edit. 1561. fol. 66.

"Theyr raylinge vppon the open and manifest truth which they coude not *improve*, and resistinge the holye gost, and sleynge of the preachers of rightuousnes, brought the wrath of God vppon them and was cause of their vtter destruccyon."—Practice of Prelates. Edit. 1530. sig. A. 2.

"Though the prophet Jeremy was unjustly accused, yet doth not that *improve* any thing that I have said."—Whitgift, cited by Nares.

P. 7. l. 8. 14, 23. *to fear us; feareth us; to fear the flesh.*] To fear, in old writers, frequently means to terrify; but fear amounting to terror seems scarcely applicable to these, and many other, places where the expression occurs. I quote a paragraph for an example, which presents a striking contrast of the past, with the present, state of public opinion and feeling in reference to the dignity and importance of the clerical office. "Thys peruerse judgement of men hindreth nothynge so much as learnynge, bycause commonlye those whych be unfittest for learnyng, be cheyfly set to learnynge. As yf a man nowe a dayes haue two sones, the one impotent, weke, sickly, lispynge, stuttynge, and stamerynge, or hauinge any mis-shape in his bodye; what doth the father of suche one commonlye saye? This boye is fit for nothynge els, but to set to lernyng and make a prest of. As who would say, The outcastes of the worlde, hauynge neyther countenaunce, tounge, nor wit, (for of a peruerse bodye cumeth commonly a peruerse mynde,) be good ynough to make those men of, whiche shall be appointed to preache Goddes holye woorde, and minister hys blessed sacramentes; besydes other moost weyghtye matters in the commonwelthe, put ofte tymes, and worthelye, to learned mennes dis-

cretion and charge; whan rather suche an offyce, so hygh in dignitie, so godlye in administration, shulde be committed to no man, whiche shulde not haue a countenaunce full of cumlynesse to allure good menne, a bodye ful of manlye authoritie to *fear* ill men, a witte apte for al learnynge, with tongue and voyce able to perswade all men."—Ascham's Toxophilus, B. fol. 35. Edit. 1545.

P. 8. l. 1. *many gests of the Scripture.*] "As thou seest in all the *stories* of the Bible."—p. 165. "Who did all those wonderful *deeds* which thou readest in the Bible."—p. 169. "As the *histories* of the Bible make mention."—p. 231. "Some *gest* that a man telleth me was done at Rome."—p. 116. He here evidently alludes to the collection of stories called *Gesta Romanorum.*—(See pp. 347, 362.) For an account of this work, the reader is referred to Mr. Douce's interesting Dissertation in the second vol. of his Illustrations of Shakespeare, and of Ancient Manners. Lond. 1807.

"Job the gentil and wys, in hus *gestes* wytnesseth
What shal worthe of suche, wenne thei lyf leten."

Par.—Of suche Job, the patient and the wise, beareth witness, in the book of his *acts*, what shall become of them when they quit this life."—P. Plouh. p. 184.

P. 9. l. 26. *they ear.*]—To *ear* is to plough.

"I have, God wot, a large feld to *ere*;
And weke ben the oxen in my plow."
Chauc. C T. v. 888.

"Tho sayd Perkin Plouhman by Seynt Peter of Rome
Ich have an half acre to *eren* by the heye weye;
Hadde ich *ered* that half acre, and sowed it hit after
Ich wolde wend with ghow, and the weye teche."

Par.—Then said Perkin Plouhman, by St. Peter, I have half an acre to plough by the highway side. Had I ploughed and sowed that half acre, I would go with you and teach you the way.—P. Plouh. p. 128.

"He that *ears* my land, spares my team, and gives me leave to inn the crop."
All's Well that Ends Well. Act I. Sc. 3.

"Make the sea serve them, which they *ear* and wound
With keels of every kind."
Ant. and Cleop. Act I. Sc. 4.

See 1 Sam. viii. 12.—Isa. xxx. 24.—Deut. xxi. 4.—Gen. xlv. 6.—Exod. xxiv. 21. for the use of this verb.

Malone's Shakes. vol. 10. p. 338. Edit. 1821.

P. 20. l. 5. *at the least way.*] At least. See pp. 50, 300, 307, &c.

P. 23. l. 34. *Bugs.*] Objects of terror.

"Thou shalt not nede to be afrayed for any *bugges* by night, nor for the arrowe that flyeth by daye." (Psalm xci. 5.)—Matthew's Bible, Edit. 1549.

"They concluded with one assent by the auctoryte of the scripture and of the holy gost, that the hethen shuld not be circumcysed; and not by the commandment of Peter vnder the payne of cursynge, excommunication, and interditynge, and like *bogges* to make foles and children afrayde with all."—Practice of Prelates, Edit. 1530. sign. B. 2.

"The masse beyng ended, the archbishop [Becket] (puttyng of hys pall, hys miter and other robes) procedeth to the king's court: but yet not trusting peraduenture so greatly to the the strength of hys masse (to make the matter more sure) he taketh also the sacrament priuily about hym, thinkyng therby himselfe sufficiently defenced against all *bugs*."—Foxe's Acts and Monuments, vol. 1. p. 213. 3d. Edit. 1576.

"Warwick was a *bug* that feared us all."—Henry VI. Act v. Sc. 2.

"*Bug* is a bugbear, a terrific being."—Johnson.

So in Cymbaline:

"————————are become
The mortal *bugs* of the field."

Again, in Stephen Gossin's Schoole of Abuse, 1579 :

" These *bugs* are fitten to *fear* babes than to move men."—Stevens.
Malone's Shakespeare, vol. xviii. pp. 519, 20. Ed. 1821.

See also Winter's Tale, Act 3. Sc. 2.

" Sir, spare your threats
The *bug* which you would fright me with, I seek.
To me can life be no commodity. "

There is a curious chapter in Reginald Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft " Of Vain Apparitions: how people have been brought to feare *Bugs;* which is partly reformed by the preaching of the Gospel." p. 85. Edit. 1665. Of the grand *bug,* or " terror by night," (Psalm xci. 5.) the Incubus, formerly supposed to be an evil spirit, he gives a long account, with remedies for the cure of this disease. p. 48.

See Douce's Illustrations of Shakespeare, vol i. p. 328.

P. 26. l. 28. *not dumb as the signs of our dumb God the pope.* P. 30. l. 30. *The Holy Ghost is no dumb God, nor no God that goeth a mumming.*] That is, the popish ceremonies, and the apish gesticulations of the priests in the service of the mass, are unmeaning, useless, and ridiculous: or, as he says, p. 317, "Christ's signs speak, and antichrist's be dumb."

A *Mummer* is a masker; one who performs frolics in a personated dress: originally, one who gesticulated without speaking.

P. 29. l. 29. *It is not believed except he hold up his finger also.*] Are we here to distinguish between holding up the *finger* and the *hand?* The *hand* was held up in confirmation of an oath, was the *finger* sufficient for an ordinary promise or engagement?

" I make a vow———————
Herkeneth, felawes, we three ben alle ones :
Let eche of us hold up his *hond* to other,
And eche of us becomen others brother."
Chauc. C. T. v. 12629—32.

Amongst the Jews, in the administration of an oath, the juror held up his right hand towards heaven, which explains a passage in the cxlivth Psalm, " whose mouth speaketh vanity, and *their right-hand is a right-hand of falsehood.*" The same form is retained in Scotland still.—See Paley's Mor. Phil. vol. i. p. 195.

P. 31. l. 21. *A Polar,*] so spelt Edit. 1573, *pollar,* Edit. 1530. It should have been spelt in the text *poller.* I have not met with the word elsewhere. It is not noticed by Mr. Todd, or Archdeacon Nares. It is nearly synonymous with plunderer or robber; and was practically the same to those who were polled and pilled with the sanction, or under the pretence of the laws and customs of holy church. The words to *poll* and to *pill,* with their derivatives, are frequently used about this period in reference to the exactions and oppressions of the Romish clergy. One example shall suffice.

" It pleaseth God to shewe vs ouer muche of your liuinge to be blynded any longer with you. We reade in the gospel, that God heareth no sinnars. Howe shamles in al parrishes they lyue whyche are the onely God makers, all the world seth, and crieth out thereupon. Suche whordome hath not ben harde of. Suche drunkenes hath not bene sene. Al are drowned in couetousnes, from the bishope to the parishe priste. And that fele we pore people being *polled* and *pilled* bi your pristes and proctoures, and haueing nothing of your landes for al our swete and labours but a blinde heape of dombe ceremonies. God (as al thinge is possible vnto hym) can make you God shepeherdes. But yet I dare not conclude that he hath done it. Neithere what he wyll do dare I affirm, you are so linked wyth Antichriste. Whose pride intollerable to boaste hymself to have powre in heauen, in earth, and in the thred place (I [know] not where) I nede not confute. This holye mother church is ashamed of hir children and brainsicke inuentions, thoughe she durst neuer in all hir pride, make any mo articles of the faith then xij. all grounded upon scriptures. But nowe your litle bishop church, or rather conventikle of xij. or xiiij. bishops,

must be so highly enhaunced, that it may encrease other vi. or rather mo, which we dayly loke for, in prejudice to other contries, whyche shal be more strongely established wyth the swerde, and more sore punished by fire (if they be violated) than any of the commaundements of God : vseinge such proude bragges, racking and burninge, that no man dare saye but it is trwe, howe so euer it please you bishopes to glose the scriptures, and make newe articles, and new faieth, anewe for to be beleued in paine of death and burninge. Such authoritie vse you ouer the scripture as your father did before youe, whoe dyd firste deuise thys your divellishe lawe, that no man shoulde be so bolde to interpretate the scripture any other wise then he and his doctours had authorised and assigned. Where contrariwise, Paule wylleth that in the congregacion or church of Christ, ij. or iij. prophets shoulde speake and the residew shoulde judg. Then if any thinge were reueiled or disclosed to him that sitteth, the first shoulde holde his peace, that all might prophecie one after an other, that al might learne, that al might take comforte, and that the spirites of the prophets might be subjecte vnto the the prophets. If this mildnesse were amonge vs ; that one of us might and woulde heare an other, then shoulde Christes doctrine and religion flourishe, whiles we were redie to geve answere euerie one of the faieth that we haue conceiued, accordeinge to the commaundment of Peter. Where nowe there is nothing but, These heretickes are proude and arrogant, they haue no lerninge, they haue not studied for knowledge. And we do answere again (as we may iustly) that we have labowred for knowledge, as diligentlie and with as humble hertes as you haue done. God hath indued vs wyth the knoweledge of the latine, greke, and hebrue, and al other sciences, far aboue that you had when you were in the scholes."—Gilby's Answer to Gardner. fol. 21, 22.

P. 35. l. 27. *carrion-lean*] Applied properly to beasts ; to jades that be more *carrion*-like, or more lean.—Huloet. cited by Mr. Todd.

P. 42. l. 7. *goest-woolward:* p. 67. *woolward-going.*] Going woolward was wearing a coarse woollen garment next the skin, and practised by the religious orders as a meritorious deed; (see p. 260.) it was sometimes enjoined as a penance, and occasionally adopted simply as a means of mortification, or, as our author would say, "taming of the flesh." Humphry Monmouth, Tyndale's patron, says of him, "I never sawe him were lynen about him in the space he was with me." Harleian MSS. N. 425. fol. 10. Among the instructions for the general visitation of monasteries An. 1535, one *Item* of enquiry was, "Whether ye wear shirts or sheets of woollen, or that ye have any constitution, ordinance, or dispensation, granted or made to the contrary, by sufficient and lawful authority."—Burnet, Vol. I. Col. p. 125. Edit. 1715.

See the commentators on Shakespeare, on Armado's confession, in Love's Labour Lost.

"The naked truth of it is, I have no shirt;
I go *woolward* for penance.
Boyet. True, and it was enjoin'd him in Rome for want of linen."

Archdeacon Nares has given the substance of their comments, with additional examples of the use of the word in his Glossary. One more example may be taken from Dives and Pauper: "The worshyppe and the prayers and the seruice that they shuld do to God, they do it to the fende. And thinges that ben ordeyned only for Goddis seruice, they spende it in the devylles seruice. And therefore they that vse holy wordes of the gospel, Pater Noster, Ave, or Crede, or holy prayers in theyr wytchecraftes, for charmes or coniurations, and all they that vse holy water of the fonte, holy crisme, masses syngynge, fastinges, contynence, *wullen goinge*, and suche other in their witchecrafte, they make a full hye sacrifice to the fende. It hath oft ben knowen, that wytches with sayenge of their Pater Noster, and droppynge of the holy candel in a mans steppes that they hated, hath done his fete rotten of." fol. 53. Edit. 1536.

P. 45 l. 16. *Such riches as are shewed at St. Thomas's shrine.*] "Thomas a Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury, was murdered in the year 1170. His body was buried first in the undercroft of Canterbury cathedral, but shortly after was taken up, and laid in a most sumptuous shrine in the East End by archbishop Langton, Becket being canonized by the pope, a saint and martyr. To this shrine people of all degrees and from all parts, flocked in pilgrimage. Once in 50 years a jubilee was observed, on account of the translation of his body to the shrine. At the fifth celebration of this kind, in 1420, the concourse of people is said to have been 100,000." MSS. Eccl. Cantuar. Biblioth. c. xiii. 2. See also Battely's Antiq. of Canterbury. "The jubilee lasted fifteen days, during which the visitors were well entertained. They, in return, loaded the martyr's shrine with offerings. A very curious account of the costly presents of this description is preserved in a manuscript belonging to the cathedral library at Canterbury; which, among other Inventories, contains *Inventorium rerum contentarum in officii custodis Martyrii S. Thomæ, viz. de vestimentis, juellis, reliquiis,* &c. MSS. c. xi. 5."—Todd's Illustrations of the lives of Chaucer and Gower, p. 355.

Thus, as the historian remarks, "The devotion towards him had quite effaced in that place the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered in one year three pounds two shillings and sixpence; at the Virgin's sixty-three pounds, five shillings, and sixpence; at St. Thomas's eight hundred and thirty-two pounds, twelve shillings, and threepence. But next year the disproportion was still greater: There was not a penny offered at God's altar; the Virgin's gained only four pounds, one shilling, and eight-pence; but St. Thomas had got for his share, nine hundred and fifty-four pounds, six shillings, and three-pence. Lewis VII. of France had made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and had bestowed on the shrine a jewel esteemed the richest in Christendom."—Hume's England, vol. iv. p. 181. Edit. 1796. Burnet, vol. i. p. 233.

P. 47. l. 23. *waxen sad*] grown or become serious, grave, steady.

" Thorgh the fende and oure flesch and this frele worlde
Senegeth sevene sithe the *saddest* man on erthe
And lyf holiest of lyf that lyveth under the sonne."

Par.—Through the temptations of the devil, the flesh, and the frail world, the most serious man on earth sinneth seven times (daily); yea, even the holiest liver that is under the sun.—P. Plouh. p. 168.

P. 62. l. 11. *a good*] See Shakesp. Two Gent. of Verona. Act. iv. Scene 4.

" At that time I made her weep *a good*," i. e. in good earnest. *Tout de bon.* Fr. So in Turberville's translation of Ovid from Ariadne to Theseus :

" ——— beating of my breast *a-good*."—Stevens.

So, in Marlowe's Jew of Malta, 1633 :

" And therewithall their knees have rankled to,
That I have laugh'd *a-good*."

Again in Turberville's Tragicall Tales, p. 98, 8vo. 1587 :

" Whereat she waylde and wept *a-good*."—Malone.

P. 65. l. 9. *a row*] in succession ; in a line.

" Forsothe Ordulf quod the kyng tho
This same Swevene verylyche met y.
Thus three nyghtes *arowe* now last a go
And suche a fayre lady me thought y sey."

Legendary Chronicle of Wilton Abbey, MS. Cotton. Faust. B. III. fol. 224.

P. 65. l. 17. *pillars and poleaxes*] a more suitable place will occur for a description of these emblems of the pope's authority. See pp. 168. 279. 284.

P. 66. l. 28. *Nineveh—I think it was then the greatest city in the world.*] "Nineveh was one of the most ancient, the most famous, the most potent, and most extensive cities of the world. It is very difficult to assign the time of its foundation; but it cannot be long after the building of Babel. It stood on the banks of the Tigris; and in the time of the prophet Jonah, who was sent thither under Jeroboam the second king of Israel, and, as we judge, under the reign of Pul, father of Sardanapalus, king of Assyria; its circuit was three days' journey. Diodorus Siculus, *lib.* ii. says, it was one hundred and fifty stadia in length, fourscore and ten stadia in breadth, and four hundred and fourscore stadia in circuit; i. e. about seven leagues long, three leagues broad, and eighteen leagues round. Its walls were a hundred feet high, and so broad, that three chariots could drive abreast upon them. Its towers, of which there were fifteen hundred, were each two hundred feet high."—Taylor's Calmet's Dict. Edit. 1819.

P. 68. l. 32. *cautels of the law.*] *Cautel*, a wile, or sleight, or crafty way to deceive; as defined by Cotgrave, Huloet and Minsheu. "Saynt Paule saithe, (1 Cor. i.) Where is nowe the wyse man that letteth and trusteth so well by his wytte, where is now the man of law with all his *cautelles*, where is nowe the seker of nature and of the cours of kynd of this worlde? God hath tourned the wysedome of this world into foly."—Dives and Pauper. fol. 40. b.

"But it is a wonderous thyng to see what shiftes and *cautels* the Popysh Antichristes devise, to colour and cloke their wicked erroures! And as a chaine is so joyned togither, that one linke draweth an other after it, so be vices and errours

knit togither, that euery one draweth his felowe with hym."—Cranmer's Answer to Gardner on the Sacrament, p. 420. Lond. 1551.

P. 72. l. 15. *be aknowen of thy sin, and confess it, and knowledge it unto thy Father*] Be conscious of thy sin, &c. "*Aknowe*, part. pa. *Sax. To ben* aknowe. C. L. 1199. To confess. *I am aknowe*. Bo. IV. pr. 4. I acknowledge."—Tyrwhitt's Glossary to Ch. C. T.

P. 73. l. 21, 23. *panter*] or *pantler;* the officer in a great family who had the care of the bread, or the pantry, which place was formerly used solely for keeping the bread.

" A good shallow young fellow: he would have made a good *pantler*, he would have chipped bread well."—Shakes. 2 Henry iv. Act ii. Sc. 3.

——————" When my old wife lived, upon
This day, she was both *pantler*, butler, cook;
Both dame and servant: welcom'd all; served all;
Would sing her song, and dance her turn: now here,
At upper end o' the table, now, i' the middle;
On his shoulder, and his: her face o'fire
With labour; and the thing, she took to quench it,
She would to each one sip."—Wint. Tale Act iv. Sc. 3.

P. 77. l. 4. *With all that trust the will of God*] I have here followed the reading of the folio Edit. 1573; but I am now satisfied that it should have been, as in the Ed. of 1528, with all that thirst (*thurst*) the will of God. See p. 93. Even so is the faithful ever *athirst*, and an hungred after the will of God. They *thirst* and hunger to do God's will. And p. 129. the spirit longeth and *thirsteth* for strength to do the will of God.

P. 79. l. 2. *William Roye;* l. 6. *Set him a work to make rhymes.*] In examining the Registers of the bishops of London, for which

I have been indebted to the kind and liberal permission of the present ornament of that see, the worthy successor of a Sherlock, a Lowth, and a Porteus, I find the names of Tyndale and Roye in the closest alliance, as they were also in the mind and vindictive purpose of cardinal Wolsey; against whom the prose of Tyndale and the rhymes of Roye were unceremoniously directed.—See Mem. of Tyndale &c.

It is a coincidence worth noticing that Chaucer's Persone was no friend to "rime."

> "I cannot geste, rom, ram, ruf, by my letter,
> And God wote, *rime* hold I but litel better.
> And therfore if you list, I wol not glose,
> I wol you tell a litel tale in prose."
>
> Ch. C. T. v. 17354—7.

There is another curious fact recorded by Bayle in reference to a famous sectarist: "I scarce meet" says he, "with any author, who does not esteem it a crime in Arius, that he put his opinions in verse, to be sung by his disciples."

P. 89. l. 35. *bate*] Here I find that I have inserted an explanation of the word in brackets in the text.

> "Shall ever civil *bate*
> Grow and devour our state?"
> Countess of Pembroke's Antonius.
> "She set my brother first with me at *bate*."
> Mirror for Magis. p. 74. See Nare's Glos.

P. 92. l. 13. *soaking disease*] or *sucking disease*; the original spelling is *sokynge*. To *soak* and to *suck* are used synonymously for to drain, to exhaust; of which see examples in Todd's Johns. Dict. That *sokynge* had originally the two distinct meanings of these words is evident from the celebrated Promptorium Parvulorum, (Harleian M.S. 221.)

> "*Sokyng*, or long lyyng in lycure.
> *Sokyng* of a pappe or tete."

Sucking should have been adopted in the text, and in p. 377. as the more suitable epithet for the wasting influence of disease.

P. 92. l. 15. *slibbersauce and swash*] spelt Edit. 1528. *sybbersause* and *shashe*; Edit. 1572 the latter word is corrected *swashe*. The word occurs in a curious poem, written, I think there can be little doubt, by Bale, though not noticed among his works. It is entitled "An answere to a papystycall exhortacyon pretendynge to avoyde false doctryne, under that colour to mayntcyne the same." It is without printer's name, place, or date: but was printed abroad just after the burning of Dr. Barnes, in Henry the VIIIth's reign. "The Papyste" in reference to this circumstance says:

"But yf the devyll were here and brent,
Some wolde hym pyteously lament,
In ther hartes they be so kynde:
Hys confession shuld be kept as treasure
And with some beleved above measure,
They are now so blynde."

In abuse, Bale, if he was the author, was quite a match for his opponent. He begins with a sort of prologue:

"Everye pylde pedlar
Wyll be a medlar,
Though ther wytts be drowsye,
And ther lernynge lowsye,
Ther meters all mangye,
Rashe, rurall, and grangye,
Yet will they forward halte,
As monne mased in malte.

These vyle cannell rakers
Are now becumme makers;
Ther poems out they dashe
With all ther *swyber swashe*,
Ther darnell and ther chaffe,
Ther swylle and swynyshe draffe;
Soche pype, soche melodye,
Soche bagge, soche beggerye.

Of pylde popyshe facyons
They strowe exhortacions,
The people to infecte
With the sedes of ther secte;
Pretendynge to dyffyne
Agaynst the false doctryne,
But soche dyrtye geare
Ded menne never heare.

They teache not in meter
With Paule, Johan, and Peter,
The worlde to edyfye
With Goddes worde christenlye;
But Scripturs they deprave,
As madde men that do rave,
They daunce with the devyll
To magnyfe ther evyll.

They drysle forth a dramme,
As he that to Christ camme,
To trap hym in a snare.
Forsoth it is fonde ware,
Let Christen men take hede
Unto ther wycked sede,
For they seke for to blynde
The syllye symple mynde."

P. 105. l. 9. *neither skilleth it*] Neither doth it matter; or make any difference. "Unto our purpose and for the question in hand, whether the commandments of God in Scripture be general or special it *skilleth* not."—Hooker's Eccl. Pol. Vol. I. p. 371. Edit. 1793. If Hooker's works were not in every one's hands, I should scarcely be able to resist the inclination I feel to extract two or three pages from the context of this example, where, as a perfect master of his argument, he disposes of "the question in hand;" i. e. whether any thing may be established in the church which is not commanded by the word of God. Let every theological student seek an intimate acquaintance with this excellent man. As his life was exemplary for humility and holiness; so his writings are no less distinguished by the noblest efforts of a powerful intellect, sanctified by the wisdom that is from above. His Ecclesiastical Polity will remain a

monument of his greatness and of his victory over his opponents, so long as the foundations of Nature's Law are immoveable, and the genius of Christianity overshadows the workmanship of her own creation.

P. 106. l. 31. *depart liberally with him.*] Part and depart were formerly synonymous. Instances occur in Chaucer and Shakespeare.

> " And here is gold, and that ful gret plentee,
> That shal *departed* ben among us three."
> Ch. C. T. v. 12745—6.

> " Which we much rather had *depart* withal
> And have the money by our father lent."
> Love's Labour Lost.

> " Hath willingly *departed* with a part."
> King John.

> " Faith, Sir, I can hardly *depart* with ready money."
> Every Man Out of His Humour.

P. 108. l. 1. *Solve.*] This is the only instance of which I am aware that a single word has been altered in the text; the author's word is *soil* (*soyl*); its meaning is plainly *solve.*

> " Alle the clerkes under Crist ne couthe this *a soile*
> Bote thus by longeth to by lyve alle that lyketh Dowell."

Par.—(For surely no inferior clerk) could ever *solve* this difficulty, but thus all who love Dowel are of the familly of true faith.—P. Plouh. p. 191.

P. 113. l. 7. *meekly knowledge my sin.*] *Acknowledge.* The word frequently occurs in this sense in old writers. See pp. 30, 70, 72, 123, &c.

P. 118. l. 17. *duty,*] any one's due or right. "The curates which in every parish preach the gospel ought of *duty* to receive an honest living for them and their households." (pp. 131, 132) "When thou receivest money for thy labour or ware thou re-receivest thy *duty*." (p. 138.) "Give to every man therefore his *duty*; tribute to whom tribute belongeth," &c. (p. 225.) "Let kings take their *duty* of their subjects." (p. 242.)

P. 143. l. 3. A *Dun's* man,] a disciple of Dun Scotus.—See Note to p. 2. l. 8.

P. 154. l. 6. *pilled,*] or rather, as Mr. Tyrwhitt observes, *piled*; spelt anciently *pyld*, bald.

"Round was his face, and camuse was his nose.
As *pilled* as an ape was his skull."
Ch. C. T. v. 3933.

Bald ceremony, (p. 158.) *Pilled* traditions, (p. 261.)—See Note to p. 92. l. 15.

P. 155. l. 20. enter this *religion* or that.] Every *religion*, (p. 194.) Of whatsoever *religion* it be, (p. 270.) All our holy *religions*, (p. 285.) *Religion* is frequently used for a religious order, so that there were as many religions as orders: "as thou seest how we are divided into monstrous sects or orders of religion." (p. 354.)

"Releve *religion*; i.e. the needy religious."
P. Plouh. p. 149.

"And suthe radde *religion* hure ruele to holde."

Par.—"Afterwards he counselled the religious orders to maintain discipline." ibid. p. 83.

The passage of which this example is a part contains a very extraordinary prediction of the downfall of religious houses.

P. 188. l. 24. *And the properties of the Hebrew tongue agreeth a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin,*] compared with p. 5. ad finem. Is it likely that Tyndale would have spoken thus confidently, had he not been at least tolerably well skilled in the Hebrew? What could induce our worthy ecclesiastical historian to say, "I presume he rendered it (part of the Old Testament) out of the Latin, his best friends not intituling him to any skill at all in the Hebrew." It would have been better had he given some reference to those writings of Tyndale's friends who had made these, as it should seem, unwarrantable concessions, if in truth they ever were made. Mr. Crutwell in his Preface to bishop Wilson's Bible, only remarks on this presumption of Fuller, that he might be mistaken.

P. 189. l. 15. One holdeth this *doctor* another that.] See an admirable compendium of the doctrines of the principal schoolmen, in the fourth volume of Mr. S. Turner's History of England during the Middle Ages.

P. 190. l. 30. *Aristotle.*] "A man must first be well seen in Aristotle, ere he can understand the Scripture, say they. Aristotle's doctrine is that the world was without beginning," &c. In his Mammon, he says (see p. 84.) "whatsoever they read in Aristotle that must be first true."—See also pp. 38, 142, 3.

"The dominion of Aristotle arose and continued, from the persuasion that he was the superior intellect among the ancients, and that his works contained a greater quantity of truth and information than those of any other author. This conviction prevailed among the Arabians, and over all Europe, as well as in England. His philosophy was not adopted here or elsewhere because schoolmen taught it, or because the Spanish Arabs pursued it; its predominance was founded on the general belief, and that upon the practical experience, of its real superiority. This common feeling, and its basis, were expressed by the student consulted at Pisa by Montaigne, whose general thesis he says, was, 'that the touchstone and standard of all solid ima-

ginations and of all truths were, their conformity to the doctrine of Aristotle; all besides were vain and chimerical, for that he had seen all, and said all.'

"To us this character sounds extravagant, and we justly deem it to be so, because it is no longer applicable and proper; but it was neither untrue nor foolish in the middle ages. No other man could then stand in competition with Aristotle, for mind, knowledge, acuteness, judgment, and utility. His books actually combined more intellectual excellence and serviceable treasures of all sorts than those of any other which had then survived; and they created a mental ability and affluence in the world, which without them would not have then existed. He certainly kept natural philosophy united with religion, and with the belief of a soul, or immaterial principle; and thus, being the antagonist of atheism and of materialism, and being an indefatigable searcher after intellectual causation, he was perfectly unitable with christianity."—Turner's History of England, during the middle ages, vol. iv. pp. 470, 1.—See the whole chapter, on the Scholastic Philosophy.

I confess, that with all my respect for the candour, the judgement, and discrimination of the historian, I cannot concur with his eulogium on the Aristotelian philosophy; which, so far from being "unitable with Christianity," appears to me to have usurped her throne, broken her sceptre, and nearly banished her from the understandings and hearts of mankind; until the Reformers, taking to themselves the whole armour of God, were instrumental in restoring her authority, and giving vitality to her institutes. Awakened themselves, by the Scriptures, to light and liberty, they roused mankind from the slumber of ages. The sound of their voice was the breaking down of this Gentile wall of partition which separated man from his Redeemer, as the apostolic preaching had been of the Jewish, which stood between him and his Creator. It is true that his Treatise on Morals is one of the most successful efforts of unassisted reason, to teach mankind that the practice of virtue is the surest road to happiness. But the self-dependance and self-sufficiency which pervade the system, are essentially at variance with the spirit of the Gospel, and incompatible with the graces which constitute and adorn the christian character. In his Me-

taphysics he wanders into a region of unhallowed speculations, dark, wild, forlorn. The Universe is eternal. The supreme Being dwells in its highest habitation. Immoveable himself, he imparts motion to all things. In proportion as objects are near to his seat are they benefitted by his energy: hence the earth and its inhabitants being at the greatest distance enjoy the least of his influence. This connection is unquestionably, so far mechanical, as, in reference to the human race, to exclude every idea of inspection, moral government, paternity, communication of good, or infliction of evil. And in conformity with this gloomy scene, the Deity is so wholly employed in the contemplation of his own intellect, as to prevent any attention or regard to any thing beyond himself. Thus does " the interpreter of nature," frustrate the beneficent design of all her works, resist her unwearied proclamations that the Lord is *near* to every one of us, check the rising desire to seek him, and paralyse the hand that is stretched out to feel after him, if haply he may be found. What boundless commendations, and what violent measures have been resorted to, in support of the claims of the Stagirite on the one hand; and what vehemence of opposition on the other, may be seen in Bayle's Notes to his Life. An ample and well written account of him and his writings is given in Rees's Cyclopædia, from which a few sentences may be extracted in confirmation of Tyndale's assertions respecting his doctrine of the origin of the world, the necessity of the Almighty's acts, and his indifference to human concerns. " From the preceding cursory view of his system," says the writer, " it appears that it does not exclude the idea of deity, for he speaks of the First Mover as a being distinct from the world, separate from matter, and possessing intellect, desire, and a power of communicating motion; upon whom the universe is dependent, not as upon an animating principle, but an external moving power. This being he represents as superior to all other intelligent natures, and calls him God. At the same time Aristotle's notion of a deity cannot be reconciled with just conceptions of the divine nature and attributes. Although he makes God the cause of all motion, yet, by supposing the universe to have existed from all eternity, he divests him of the glory of creation, and connects him with a world already formed by a

chain of necessity, for no other purpose than to make him the first spring of a vast machine. God indeed, in the system of Aristotle, is immutable; so is likewise the celestial sphere in which he is supposed to reside. In producing motion, he acts necessarily; and eternally employed in the contemplation of his own nature, he observes nothing, and cares for nothing beyond himself. Possessing neither immensity nor omnipresence, and far removed from the inferior parts of the universe, he is not even a spectator of its inhabitants and their concerns, and cannot therefore be a proper object of reverence and worship.

"It does not certainly appear from the writings of Aristotle, whether he thought the soul of man mortal or immortal; but the former appears most probable, from his notion of the nature and origin of the human soul, which he conceived to be an intellectual power, externally transmitted into the human body from an eternal intelligence, the common source of rationality to human beings. We have no evidence that he supposed the union of this principle with any individual to continue after death.——Upon the whole, it has been observed by competent and candid judges, that the philosophy of Aristotle is rather the philosophy of words than of things, and that the study of his writings tends more to perplex the understanding with subtle distinctions than to enlighten it with real knowledge. The veneration that was paid to him in the Arabian, Jewish, and Christian Schools, was rather the means of obstructing than of aiding and promoting the progress of useful science. It was not, as an excellent biographer remarks, till mankind were emancipated from their vassalage to Aristotle, that the human mind asserted its native freedom and dignity, and that genuine science began to enlighten the world."

Mosheim says in his Ecclesiastical History of the XIIIth Century: "The Latin writers of this age complain in many places of the growth of infidelity, of daring and licentious writers, some of whom attacked publicly the doctrines of christianity, while others went so far as atheistically to call in question the perfections and government of the Supreme Being. These complaints, however they might have been exaggerated in some respects, were yet far from being entirely destitute of

foundation; and the superstition of the times was too naturally adapted to create a number of infidels and libertines, among men who had more capacity than judgment, more wit than solidity. Persons of this character, when they fixed their attention only upon that absurd system of religion which the Roman pontiffs and their dependants exhibited as the true religion of Christ, and maintained by the odious influence of bloody persecution; were, for want of the means of being instructed, unhappily led to consider the Christian religion as a fable invented and propagated by a greedy and ambitious priesthood, in order to fill their coffers and to render their authority respectable. The philosophy of Aristotle, which flourished in all the European schools, and was looked upon as the very essence of right reason, contributed much to support this delusion, and to nourish a proud and presumptuous spirit of infidelity. This quibbling and intricate philosophy, led many to reject some of the most evident and important doctrines both of natural and revealed religion, such as the doctrine of a divine providence governing the universe, the immortality of the soul, the Scripture account of the origin of the world, and other points of less moment. These doctrines were not only rejected, but the most pernicious errors propagated in opposition to them by a set of Aristotelians, who were extremely active in gaining proselytes to their impious jargon."—Mosh. Eccl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 146, 7.—See his account of the Aristotelians, in the XVth Century, taken from Brucker's *Historia Critica Philosophiæ*. tom. iv. p. 158.

The importance of the subject, and its close connection with my author who has so frequently and strongly expressed his sentiments on the pernicious influence of the prevailing authority of Aristotle,* will, I trust, make an apology needless for pursuing this theme a little farther. The following paragraphs, taken from that part of Brucker's Work to which Mosheim refers, are from Enfield's perspicuous pages, to whom the English reader is greatly indebted for his translation, or rather his faithful representation of the meaning and spirit of the original. In the

* Tyndale appears to have adopted the phraseology of Luther in his censures of Aristotle.—See Gerd. Hist. Reform. tom. i. pp. 88, 137, 8. tom. ii. p. 11. Seckendorf, p. 28. a. Loescher, Act et Docum. T. i. p. 542, 3.

Section on the Revival of the Aristotelian Philosophy, he observes:

"The general prepossession in favour of the Aristotelian system, which from these and other causes prevailed for several centuries after the revival of letters, was attended with much inconvenience and mischief. The reformers of philosophy observing that the Scholastics, in order to harmonize the Aristotelian system with the doctrines of Christianity, had represented the Stagirite under fictitious colours, determined to embrace his real tenets as they are found in his writings. Whence they imbibed opinions from the Peripatetic philosophy wholly inconsistent with true religion; such as for example, that God, the first mover, wholly intent upon the contemplation of his own intellect, disregards the affairs of the world; that the intelligence which presides over the lower sphere, is the universal soul of the world, of which all men partake; and, consequently, that the soul of man has no distinct existence, and will no longer subsist as such, than whilst the body continues to live. These, and other similar tenets, were commonly embraced by the modern Peripatetics, especially in Italy, who thought that they paid sufficient respect to religion, if they pretended, as Christians, to embrace a different creed, though they were not able to reconcile it with the dogmas which they were taught by reason and philosophy. In this manner, Pomponatius, Cæsalpinus, Cremonius, and others, cast the thin vail of religious profession, over real infidelity. This mischief proceeded to such an extreme, that the minds of the multitude, both ecclesiastics and laity, were at this time deeply tinctured with atheism; and this fatal relaxation of principle produced an uncommon depravity of manners. A regard to the providence and authority of God, and the fear of future punishment, having almost wholly lost their influence upon the minds of those who still called themselves, not only philosophers, but Christians; sobriety and decency were abandoned in their conversation, and the grossest impiety and obscenity disgraced their writings.

"This swelling torrent of profaneness, the fathers of the Lateran council in vain endeavoured to stem, by a bull, which, in the year one thousand, five hundred, and ten, was issued against the

Aristotelian corruptions. The Peripatetics ridiculed this idle fulmination, for they were not ignorant, that the Pontiff himself, Leo X. and the Cardinal, Peter Bembo, by whom the bull was issued, lay under a strong suspicion of being themselves infidels. Subsequent ecclesiastical decrees lopped off some of the branches of spreading impiety, but no one saw the necessity, or had the courage to root up the tree. The public guardians of religion were, or seemed to be, ignorant that the errors of the Aristotelian philosophy lay at the foundation of this corruption. Themselves infected with the disease which they undertook to cure, if the Christian faith was professed in words, they thought it of little consequence what tenets were in reality believed. In order to throw dust into the eyes of the people, the ecclesiastics professed to yield such implicit submission to the authority of the church, as to embrace its decrees, though they were wholly irreconcileable with the invincible reasonings of the Peripatetic schools. Under this mask they did not scruple publicly to defend any kind of impiety, only adding this caution, that they proposed positions of this kind merely in a way of speculation, and though they might be true according to Aristotle, they were false according to the decisions of the church, to which they humbly submitted, though they were not able to discover the reasons upon which they were founded. Such pitiful evasions, though they might suffice to secure the credit of the church among an ignorant populace, proved highly injurious to good morals, by encouraging fraud and hypocrisy. The motto of Cremonius seems to have expressed the general sense of the Peripatetic clergy of this period, *Intus ut libet, foris ut moris est.* 'Abroad, with the people; at home, as you please.'

"The Stagirite, having for many centuries, possessed authority in the schools, little inferior to that of Jesus Christ in the church, and his dogmas being intimately interwoven with those of religion, it was thought exceedingly hazardous to whisper any thing to the discredit of his philosophy. The learned Berigard, who was sensible of many errors in this system, declares,* 'that in lecturing upon Aristotle, he did not think himself at li-

* Præf. Circul. Pisan.

berty to give his opinion, lest he should be thought to treat his master with contempt,[a] and to trample upon the ashes of the ancients.' This reverence for Aristotle was still supported in popish universities, by statutes which required the professors to promise upon oath, that in their public lectures on philosophy they would follow no other guide. It is easy to perceive that, if freedom of speech, even at the very fountain head of instruction, was thus restricted, there could be little scope for freedom of enquiry, and little probability of the advancement of knowledge."—Enfield's Hist. of Phil. vol. ii. p. 438,—41.

The founder of the Lyceum was forsaken, I believe, by all the first Reformers, with the exception of Melancthon, who at first, probably in deference to Luther, joined with the general voice, but afterwards pursued an opposite course. He thus wrote to the Chancellor of Bavaria in 1535: "Vere judicas plurimum interesse Reipublicæ ut Aristoteles conservetur, et extet in scholis ac versetur in manibus discentium. Nam profecto sine autore, non solum non retineri pura philosophia, sed ne quidem justa discendi ratio ulla poterit."—Melanc. Epist. ad Leonhardum Eccium.

Time and experience have decided whose wisdom was the most comprehensive, and whose course the most beneficial to mankind, Melancthon's; or Luther's, Calvin's, Zuinglius's and those who adopted their views and assisted in carrying them into execution. I shall conclude this note with the approving testimony of an eloquent writer to the triumph of their principles over the long established system of the despotic[b] Stagirite. "The renunciation in a great part of Europe, of theological opinions so long consecrated by time, and the adoption of a creed more pure in its principles and more liberal in its spirit, could not fail to encourage on all other subjects, a congenial

[a] Ne in magistrum despuere, et apolactizare, ut ait Plautus, velle videar.

[b] This epithet seems as applicable to the philosopher personally, as to the manner in which his authority was maintained by his followers. His object was to erect his own edifice upon the ruin of every other structure. As Lord Bacon has finely remarked, "Like a Turkish despot, he thought he could not reign secure, unless all his brethren were slain."—De Augment. Scient. l. iii. c. 4. Enfield's Hist. vol. i. p. 267.

freedom of enquiry. These circumstances operated still more directly and powerfully by their influence in undermining the authority of Aristotle; an authority, which, for many years was scarcely [a] inferior to that of the Scriptures, and which, in some universities, was supported by statutes, requiring the teachers to promise upon oath, that in their public lectures they would follow no other guide." Stewart's Dissert. on the Progress of Mental Philosophy. p. 23.

P. 190. l. 11. *What is the cause that we damn some of Origen's Works and allow some.*] This example, as one of the most striking, is selected to show the common use of the word: in almost every instance where it occurs in this volume, the word *condemn*, would now take its place. The reader must not forget to give Dr. Ridley the benefit of this remark. Note to p. 1. l. 20 Nor the submissive husband. p. 369.—See pp. 85, 90, 109, 141, 151, 158, 159, &c. Among the articles commenced against Richard Hunne after his death were these:

Item,—he *damneth* adoration, prayer, kneeling, and offering to images, which he calleth stocks and stones.

Item,—he *damneth* the University of Oxford; with all degrees

[a] "Scarcely inferior:" not at all, according to Bayle, who says, "It will be an everlasting subject of wonder to persons who know what philosophy is, to find that Aristotle's authority was so much respected in the Schools, for several ages, that when a disputant quoted a passage from this philosopher, he who maintained the Thesis, durst not say *Transeat*, but must either deny the passage, or explain it in his own way. If any one think fit to contest this fact I refer him to several *Courses of Philosophy*, printed in the XVIth century, where this method is found to have been in use. The author proves his thesis first by authority, and afterwards by reason. The authoritative proof are passages out of Aristotle, which seem to oppose the Thesis, and which are authoritative proofs for the other party. Afterwards an answer is given to the reasons; but great care is taken never to say, *I own that Aristotle believed so and so; nevertheless, I deny that my Thesis* wherein I maintain another *doctrine, is false*. All endeavours are made use of to give the objected passages such a sense as may agree with the matter in question. The same method is still in use among those of the Church of Rome, in the Divinity Schools, with regard to *St. Augustin*, and *Thomas Aquinas*."

and faculties in it, as Art, Civill, Canon, and Divinity; saying, that "they let the true way to come to the knowledge of the lawes of God, and holy Scripture."—Fox. vol. ii. p. 18. Ed. 1641.

P. 199. l. 3. *to wite,*] to impute to; to blame.

"Though that I be jalous *wite* me nought."
Ch. C. T. v. 10051.

"Bote ich had wedir at my wil, ich *wited* God the cause
And alle maner angres."

Par.—For unless I had weather at my will, I imputed it to God, as well as every other cause of anger which I felt.——P. Plouh. p. 93.

P. 199. l. 6.—pp. 257, 339, 48. *neverthelater.*] Nevertheless. Except in Tyndale this word is of rare occurrence.

P. 200. l. 35. *our even Christian,*] our fellow Christian. "Despitous, is he that hath disdain of his neighebour, that is to saye, of his *even* Cristen."—Chaucer's Persones Tale. vol. iv. p. 41.

"Also thou shelt not swere for envie, neyther for favour, ne for mede, but only for rightwisenesse, and for declaring of trouthe to the honour and worship of God, and to the aiding and helping of thin *even Cristen*. And therefore every man that taketh Goddes name in idel, or falsely swereth with his mouth, or elles taketh on him the name of Crist, to be called a Cristen man, and liveth against Cristes living and his teching, all they take Goddes name in idel.—p. 65.

"And shrewede myn *em cristyne* aghens the consail of Crist."

Par.—And cursed my fellow Christians, against the law of Christ.—P. Plouh. p. 91.

"You might say that I, beyng put in so speciall a trust as I am in this case, were no trustie frende to you, nor charitable

man to mine *even Christian.*"—Henry the Eight's answer to Parliament in 1546.—Hall's Chronicles, fol. 261.

2nd Clown.—" Will you ha' the truth on't? If this had not been a gentlewoman, she should have been buried out of christian burial."

1st Clown.—" Why there thou say'st: And the more pity; that great folkes shall have countenance in this world to drown or hang themselves, more than their *even Christian.*"—Hamlet. Act v. Sc. i.

P. 202. l. 2. *a dazing in the head.* P. 255. *edased in the brains.*] Stupified. Dazed, Mr. Todd observes, is still used in this sense in the north of England.

" Thus in peneyffenes sore was I crased
And as a wytles man gretely *edased.*"

Poems supposed to be written by Chaucer. Todd's Illust. p. 297.

P. 204. l. 26. p. 411. l. 6. *salt,*] anciently spelt saute; lecherous.

" All the charms of love,
Salt Cleopatra, soften thy wan'd lip."
Ant. and Cleop. Act ii. Sc. 1.

This is one article of the Table of Contents of " Yet a course at the Romyshe Fox."

" Sawte bytche of my lorde Bonner." See p. 77—80.

P. 209. l. 28. *egal,*] equal; often used by old writers.

P. 215. l. 17. *to set forth a neck-verse to save all manner of tresspassers from the fear of the sword, &c. p. 276. They have*

a sanctuary for thee; yea, and a neck-verse, if thou canst but read a little Latin, though it be never so sorrily, so that you be ready to receive the beast's mark.] *Neck-verse* derived its name from the circumstance of the prisoner saving his neck, that is escaping hanging, by repeating it.

In the character of a "Jaylor" in a curious book entitled "Whimsies: or, a New Cast of Characters," 12mo. Lond. 1631, p. 69. is the following passage. "If any of his more happy prisoners be admitted to his *Clergy*, and by helpe of a compassionate *prompter*, hacke out his *Neck-verse*, hee has a cold Iron in store, if he be hot; but a hot Iron if he be cold. If his pulse (I mean his purse) bee hot, his Fist may cry fizze, but want his impression: but if his pulse be cold, the poor beggarly knave must have his *literal* expression."

In the British Apollo, vol. iii. fol. Lond. 1710. no. 72. is the following query.

"Q. Apollo prepare; I'll make you to stare;
For I'll put you to your *Neck Verse*,
Howe'er you harangue, you'll certainly hang,
Except you the matter rehearse:

And that is to tell, (and pray do it well,
Without any banter I charge ye)
Why the *Neck Verse* is said, and when it was made
The benefit of the clergy?

A. When Popery long since, with tenets of nonsense
And ignorance filled the land,
And Latin alone, to Church-men was known,
And the reading a legible hand:

This privilege then to save learned men
Was granted 'em by Holy Church,
While villains whose crimes were lesser nine times
Were certainly left in the lurch.

If a Monk had been taken for stealing of bacon,
For Burglary, Murder, or Rape:
If he could but rehearse, (well prompt) his *Neck Verse*
He never could fail to escape.

When the world grew more wise and with open eyes,
Were able to see through the mist,
'Twas thought 's just to save a laity-knave,
As well as a rascally priest."

Sir Walter Scott notices the *Neck Verse* as a cant term formerly used by the marauders on the border.

" Letter nor line know I never a one
Wer't my *Neck Verse* at Harribee."
Lay of the Last Minstrel, C. i. 24.

A Note says: " Harribee, the place of executing the Border Marauders at Carlisle."

The *Neck Verse* is *the beginning of the fifty-first Psalm*, Misere mei, &c. anciently read by criminals claiming the benefit of Clergy.—Brand's Obs. on Pop. Ant. vol. ii. p. 667.

P. 221. l. 6. *Socheners.*] These *Socheners*, (or as they are spelled *Sochenars*, Edit. 1572. *Souchenars* Edit. 1535,) have given me no little trouble; but want of time precludes my farther investigation of their character and country. The most probable conjecture I can form of the derivation of the word, is, that it is a noun formed from the German verb *suchen*, to *seek*, which is almost endless in the variety of its significations as applied to particular objects and circumstances.

" Suchen, proprie est *oculis quærere*, ab *aug*, *ook*, *och*, oculus, præposito sibilo, et dicitur per translationem de omnibus quærendi modis quocunque sine institutis. Hinc illa significationum incredibilis multitudo, quia causa quærendi raria esse potest."

" Among these are :—Suchen, quære infestandi causa, alias *invadere*, *insultare*. *Verelius* in Ind. *Sokn* insultus, invasio hostilis, *sokndiarfur* ad invadendum audax."

" Suchen, quærere, occupandi causa, alias *oppugnare*. Hinc migratio Gentium Anglosaxonibus dicitur *Land-socn*, quasi regionis inhabitandi gratia invasio et oppugnatio."—Wachter Glossar. Germ. Lips. 1737. p. 1642,—4.

The French word *sochon* may be noticed: "Sochon; compagnon, associé, camarade, ami."—Roquefort and Carpentier's French Glossaries.

But I hope it will be found to be an old English or Norman-Saxon word, for I am desirous of retaining the opinion which I have formed, that Tyndale preserved the purity of his native language in as high a degree as any of his contemporaries. The Saxon *Secan, Soecan, Secean,* is the same with the German *Suchen,* and I have met with a solitary instance of the word *Souchen* in Piers Plouhman, which in the Glossary Dr. Whitaker has defined "to follow;" in the text it reads thus:

> "And yut more hit maketh men meny tyme and ofte
> To synegen and to *souchen* soteltees of gyle
> For covetyze of that catel to culle them that hit kepeth."

Par.—But what is worse, wealth many times tempts men to sin, and to *seek* subtilties and tricks, and for covetousness of those chattels, to kill the owner. p. 214.

The context both here and in the Practice of Prelates (see pp. 445, 446, 455,) where Tyndale again mentions the *socheners,* and calls them the pope's old friends, points them out as auxiliary troops. I was not aware until I received the following obliging communication from Mr. Sharon Turner, that the term could refer to any others than the Swiss mercenaries. "Both the emperor and his opponents, and among these the pope, used to resort to Germany for hired soldiery for their armies, and I have found these to be called by several different names, of which *sochenars* seems to be one,—a kindred word to that of our ancient land tenantry, *sochemans.*"

I have only farther to remark, that in the Royal Library (Casley's Cat. 14. A. vi.) is an Italian translation in M.S. of the Christian Obedience, by Sebastiano Roccatagliata, dedicated "Al nobile, et honorato signore il signore Thomaso Copleyo," and dated 23rd June 1559, in which *socheners* is rendered by *Suizzeri.* "Se gli Venetiani si accostano troppo, bisogna, che gli vesconi Francesi conduchino dentro 'l re di Francia, et li Suizzeri sono mandati a chiamare per venire al soccorso; et per la loro fatica gli da a chi una rosa, a chi una biretta di mantenuta."

P. 221. l. 8. *he giveth to some a rose.*] A golden rose which the pope blesses at mass, on the first Sunday in Lent, while they sing Lætare Jerusalem; and which, after mass, he carries in procession; and then sends as a present to some sovereign prince.—Vide. Pet. Frizonius in Gallia purpurata, p. 81. Liber Sacrarum cerimoniarum. Lib. I. sect. vii. cap. v. p. 382—4. Edit. Hofmannianæ. tom. II.

Pope Julius the IId sent a *golden Rose* to Henry the VIIIth, with a letter to archbishop Warham, directing him to present it to the king at high mass with his apostolical benediction, (*cum ceremoniis* in notula alliga contentis) stating that it had been blessed by his hands, sprinkled with odoriferous musk, and anointed with holy chrism. The letter is dated April 5th, 1510.—Wilk. Concil. vol. iii. p. 652.

Leo the Xth in a letter, with a golden Rose sent to Albertus Moguntinus, dated June 6, 1520, thus commends the precious gift:—"Quare Circumspectio Tua gratum illud munus accipiet, quod etsi mysticum est magnasque habet in se sacrarum rerum interpretationes, tamen ad ceteras adjunctum, est pignus amoris summi in Te nostri."—Vide Gerdes Hist. Reform. tom. II. D. 10. He also sent one, but too late for his purpose, to the Elector Frederic. ibid. tom. I. p. 231.

Ibid. *cap of maintenance,*] or cap of state; one of the regalia or ornaments of state, carried before kings at their coronation and other great solemnities. It was formerly esteemed a badge and symbol of dignity, and suitable to a prince of the blood. It was worn by the kings of England from Edward III. to Edward VI. but of late it hath been granted to private families. *The cap of maintenance* is also carried in the processions of the mayors of several cities of England. It is made of crimson velvet, faced up ermine, with two points to the back.—See Rees's Cycl.

P. 229. l. 33. "*The very prelates are now so sore changed that if they smell that one of their flock do but once long or desire for the true knowledge of Christ, they will slay him, burning him with fire most cruelly.*"] The reader of English

Church History, in perusing this passage cannot fail of being forcibly reminded of an expression of Nix, bishop of Norwich, in a letter to archbishop Warham, that he had heard of no clerk that had lately come from Gunwell Hall, Cambridge, "but he saverith of the frying panne, though he speak never so holely."—Strype's Cranmer. Oxon. 1812, p. 694. Nix regarded the buying up and destroying of Tyndale's translation of the Testament "a graciouse and a blessed dede," for which those who were concerned should be highly rewarded of the Almighty.—See Mem. of Tyndale, &c.—For notices of Nix, see Bale's Course at a Romish Fox. fol. 69; Wharton's Angl. Sacr. Pars. i. p. 419; Godwin Præs. Angl. p. 440; Fox's Acts and Mon. vol. ii. p. 876, Edit. 1641; Strype's Cranmer, p. 40—2, and Soame's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 497.

Say not then, what is the cause that the former days were better than these? So thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this. (Eccles. vii. 10.) What a happy revolution has succeeded the "sore change" which Tyndale lamented, in the character of the prelates in his days from their primitive predecessors! Compare or rather contrast Nix, for instance, with Bathurst. The one, kindling with blind fury the fires of persecution, burning the Scriptures and their adherents together; unfeeling, bigotted, licentious:—the other, zealously patronising institutions for the distribution of the word of God to "every man in his own tongue wherein he was born;" devoting his talents, and the influence of his station, to maintain the rights and privileges, and to promote the harmony, welfare, and happiness of all classes of his fellow christians; distinguished by the most amiable and venerable qualities, an example of enlightened benevolence, candour, moderation, integrity and piety. The one a curse, and the other a blessing to the church and the world.

"O Lord, we beseech thee to keep thy church and household continually in thy true religion, that they who do lean only upon the hope of thy heavenly grace, may evermore be defended by thy mighty power, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

Collect for the fifth Sunday after the Epiphany.—See Dr. Chalmer's Sermon, on the Respect due to Antiquity, p. 32, 58.

P. 237. l. 1. *Let Christian landlords be content with their rent and old customs.*] "My father was a yoman, and had no landes of hys owne; onely he had a farme of ij. or iij. pound by yeare at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so muche as kept half a dosson men. He had walke for an hundred sheepe, and my mother milked xxx. kyne. He was able, and did finde the king a harnesse with him selfe and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receyue the kinges wages. I can remember, that I buckled his harnesse, when he went unto Blacke heath fielde. He kept me to schole, or els I had not been able to have preached before the kinges majestie now. He maryed my sisters with five pound, or xx. nobles a piece, so that he brought them in godlinesse and feare of God. He kept hospitality for his poore neighboures. And some almes he gave to the poore: and all thys did he of the sayde farme. Where he that now hath it, payeth xvi. pound by the yeare or more, and is not able to doe any thyng for hys prince, for him selfe, nor for his children, or geve a cup of drinke to the poore.

"Thus all the enhaunsing and rearing goeth to your private commoditie and wealth. So that where ye had a single too much, you have that: and since the same, ye have enhaunced the rent, and so have encreased an other too much: so now ye have double too much, which is too much. But let the preacher preach till his tongue be worn to the stompes, nothyng is amended."—Lat. Ser. fol. 30. b. Edit. 1575.

P. 248. l. 13. *friars send their limiters to gather their brotherhoods; which must obey whether they will or not.*] The office of a *limiter* might be, strictly speaking, confined to his begging for, and collecting the dues of, his convent in a certain district. For this he had probably the licence of his superiors, and was subject to their mandates and the rules of his house in the execution of his commission. It is not unlikely there were several[a]

[a] Chaucer intimates how numerous they were in his time. The wife of Bath says they had taken the places of the *Elves* of former days.

"For now the grete charitee and prayeres
Of limitoures and other holy freres,

limiters in every convent, and that they were sent out in different directions, each having his prescribed *limits* for the performance of his office. In the " Sompnoures Tale" the *limiter* came his round in about a fortnight:

> " O dere maister, quod this sike man,
> How have ye faren sin that March began,
> I saw you not this fourtene night and more." v. 7363—5.

That they were beggars, and that the mouth of their bag was open for all manner of things, " a bushel of whete, or malt, or reye, a Goddes kichel, or a trippe of chese, a Goddes halfpeny, or a masse peny; or braun, or a dagon of a blanket; or bacon, or beef;" that nothing came amiss, and that it never said, It is enough, is well known. But the gathering their *brotherhoods*, is another feature of their character, another branch of their duty which requires explanation. That individuals who contributed liberally to a particular convent were received into the *brotherhood*, and invested with all the privileges of the community, without leaving their ordinary residences and occupations, appears from a letter under the seal of the Prior given in Steven's Supplement to Dugdale, vol. ii. App. p. 370. " *Fratres Prædicatores*, Warwice, *admittunt* Thomam Cannings et uxorem ejus Agnetem *ad participationem omnium bonorum operum conventus ejusdem.*" It is dated 4 Non. Oct. An. Dom. 1347. The Sompnour says that his *limiter* professed to grant this privilege to those who gave him alms, and deceived them by writing their

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> That serchen every land and every streme
> As thickke as motes in the sonne beme,
> Blissing halles, chambres, kichenes, and bouers,
> Citees and burghes, castles highe and touers,
> Thropes and bernes, shepenes and dairies,
> This maketh that ther ben no faeries:
> For ther as wont to walken was an elf,
> Ther walketh now the limitour himself,
> In undermeles and in morweninges,
> And saith his Matines and his holy thinges,
> As he goth in his limitatioun."
>
> v. 6447,—59.

names on his tables of ivory; but having obtained his object, erased them as soon as he was out of sight. Robert Langland somewhere says, that in his time they courted the rich to become of their brotherhood, and of course under the plea of benefiting the whole community, of which they now formed a part, a continued contribution was expected, if not enjoined. The *limiter* brought home all he collected by every means, or paid a rent for his district, and appropriated to his own private use the profit he made by his bargain. The *Friar* in the Canterbury Pilgrimage thus turned his talents to his own advantage, and perhaps his brethren were no losers:—

> "He was the beste begger in all his hous:
> And he gave a certaine ferme for the grant,
> Non of his bretheren came in his haunt.
> For though a widewe hadde but a shoo,
> (So plesant was his *In principio*)
> Yet wold he have a ferthing or he went.
> His pourchas was wel better than his rent."
>
> v. 252,—8.

Our *limiter* although represented in the text as constrained to go when and where the friars sent him; out of his college was no mean personage, but made a distinguished figure in the world. He was an M.A.;[a] a preacher of charity sermons;[b] a con-

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[a] "Now, maister, quod this lord, I you beseke.
No maister, sire, quod he, but servitour,
Though I have had in scole that honour.
God liketh not, that men us Rabi call,
Neither in market, ne in your large hall."
v. 7766,—70.

[b] "And so befell that on day this frere
Had preched at a chirche in his manere,
And specially aboven every thing
Excited he the peple in his preching
To trentals, and to give for Goddes sake,
Wherwith men mighten holy houses make."
v. 7295,—300.

fessor granting easy terms of absolution;[c] a facetious story-teller;[d] could sing a good song, or play skilfully on an instrument;[e] could dissemble,[f] gloss,[g] pray,[h] and profess ex-

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[c] "For he had power of confession,
As said himselfe, more than a curat,
For of his ordre he was licenciat.
Ful swetely herde he confession,
And pleasant was his absolution
He was an esy man to give penance
Ther as he wiste to han a good pitance."
v. 218,—24.

[d] "But if it like unto this compagnie,
I wol you of a Sompnour tell a game."
v. 6860,—1.

[e] "And certainly he hadde a mery note.
Wel coude he singe and plaien on a rote.
Of yeddinges he bare utterly the pris."
v. 235,—7.

[f] "I shall him tellen which a gret honour
It is to be a flatering *limitour*."
v. 6875,—6.

"This sike man woxe wel neigh wood for ire,
He wolde that the frere had ben a-fire
With his false dissimulation."
v. 7703,—5.

[g] "Glosing is a ful glorious thing certain,
For letter sleth, so as we clerkes sain."
v. 7375,—6.

[h] "God wot, quod he, laboured have I ful sore,
And specially for thy salvation
Have I sayd many a precious orison,
And for our other frends, God hem blesse."
v. 7366,—9.

traordinary sanctity;[i] be violent[k] or courteous;[l] merry and wanton, or solemn and devout, as the occasion required:[m] in a word, a very popular ecclesiastic, and a great favorite with the ladies of his day.[n]

To supply the deficiencies in the above account of the *limiter*, I shall avail myself of the labours of the erudite Scottish etymolygist.

LIMITOUR. An itinerant and begging friar.

"I charge the yit as I have ellis,
Be halie relickis, beidis and bellis,
Be ermeitis that in desertis dwellis,
Be *limiteris* and tarlochis."
Philotus, S. P. R. iii. 48.

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[i] "I wol with Thomas speke a litel throw:
Thise curates ben so negligent and slow
To gropen tendrely a conscience.
In shrift, in preching is my diligence
And study, in Peters wordes and in Poules,
I walke and fishe Cristen mennes soules,
To yeld our Lord Jesu his propre rent;
To sprede his worde is sette all min entent."
v. 7397,—406.

[k] "And rage he coude as it had ben a whelp,
In lovedayes, ther coude he mochel help."
v. 259,—60.

[l] "And over all, ther as profit shuld arise,
Curteis he was, and lowly of service."
v. 249,—50.

[m] "A Frere there was, a wanton and a mery,
A *Limitour*, a ful solempne man."
v. 208,9.

[n] "Ful wel beloved, and familier was he
With frankeleins over all in his contree,
And eke with worthy wimmen of the toun:
For he had power of confession, &c."
v. 215,—8.

Skinner supposes that this was a seller of indulgences, thus denominated as *limiting* or fixing the price for each sin. Junius defines the term as denoting a friar or monk who discharged his office within certain *limits* or bounds. From the visions of P. Ploughman, it appears, indeed, that the *limitour* was properly a confessor, who, by virtue of episcopal letters, although he had no parochial charge, was authorized to hear confession and grant absolution within a certain district. R. de Langland describes him metaphorically in allusion to a surgeon.

"Conscience called a leche that coulde well *shrive*
Go saluеth tho that sick ben, and through syn wounded,
Shrift shope sharpe salue, and made hem do penaunce,
For her misdedes that they wrought had—
The frere hereof harde, and hyed hym full fast
To a lord for a letter, leaue to haue curen,
As a curatour he were; and came with his letters,
Boldly to the bishop, and hys briefe had
In countrys there he came in *confession to here*."

The writer then gives a character of a friar of this description; which, in that age, it may be supposed, was by no means singular.

"I knew such one once, not eyght winters passed,
Came in thus coped, at a court where I dwelled,
And was my lordes leche, and my ladyes both.
And at last this *limitour*, tho my lorde was oute,
He salued so our women, till some were with childe.
——— Here is contrition, quod conscience, my cousin sore wounded,
Comfort him, quod conscience, and take keep to hys soores.
The plasters of the *Person*, and pouders beaten to sore,
He letteth hem lig ouer long, and loth is to chaunge hem.
From lenten to lenten his plasters biten.
That is ouer long, quod this *limitor*, I leue I shall amend it;
And goeth and gropeth Contrition, and gaue him a plaster
Of a priuy payment, and I shall pray for you.
Thus he goth, and gathereth, and gloseth ther he shriueth,
Till contrition had cleane forgotten to crie, and to wepe,
And wake for his workes, as he was wont to do."

P. Plouh. fol. ult. Edit. 1561.

In the Supplement to the Dict. Dr. Jamieson, in V. *Limitour*, says *Add*;—Tyndale gives a different view of the meaning of this word, and quotes the passage which has given rise to this extended note. I do not find that Mr. Todd has added any thing to the materials collected by Dr. Jamieson.—See Illust. of Gower, and Chaucer, pp. 240, 241.

P. 253. l. 10. *For Customs—as to watch all night, and to kiss one another: which as soon as the people abused, then they brake them. For which cause,* &c.] "True it is, the ancienter,[a] the better ceremonies of religion are: howbeit, not absolutely true, and without exception; but true, only so far forth as those different ages do agree in the state of those things, for which, at at the first those Rites, Orders, and Ceremonies, were instituted. In the Apostles' times, that was harmless which being now revived, would be scandalous; as their *Oscula Sancta*.[b] Those Feasts of Charity which being instituted by the apostles, were retained in the church long after, are not now thought any where needful."—Hooker's Eccl. Pol. vol. i. p. 154.

P. 259. *What reverence,* &c.—*unto the holy candle commit we our souls.*] See an illustration of the regard paid to these things in the days of our former ignorance, in Latimer's Sermon on the twenty-first Sunday after Trinity. I can give only the conclusion, called in the margin, "A Pretty Tale." "I was once called to one of my kinsfolke: it was at that tyme when I had taken degree at Cambridge, and was made Maister of Art;

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[a] Antiquitas ceremoniis atque fanis tantum sanctitatis tribuere consuevit, quantum adstruxerit vetustatis. Arn. p. 746.

[b] Rom. xvi. 16. 2 Cor. xiii. 12. 1 Thes. v. 26. 1 Pet. v. 14. In their meetings to serve God, their manner was, in the end to salute one another with a kiss; using these words, "*Peace be with you.*" For which cause Tertullian doth call it, *Signaculum Orationis*, The Seal of Prayer, lib. de Orat.

I was called (I say) to one of my kinsfolke, which was very sicke, and dyed immediately after my commyng. Now there was an old cousin of myne, whiche after the man was dead, gave me a waxe candle in my hand, and commaunded me to make certain crosses over him that was dead: for she thought the devill should runne away by and by. Now I tooke the candell, but I could not crosse him as she would have me to doe, for I had never sene it afore. Now she perceivyng that I could not do it, with a great anger tooke the candell out of my hand, saying: It is pitie that thy father spendeth so much money upon thee: and so she took the candell and crossed and blessed him, so that he was sure inough. No doubt she thought that the devill could have no power against him."—p. 198. Edit. 1583.

"If you look in the Popish Pontifical, you shall see how they make their holy water; to wit in this sort: *I conjure thee, thou creature of water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou drive the Devil out of every corner and hole of this Church, and Altar; so as he remain not within our precincts that are just and righteous.* And water thus used (as Durandus saith) hath power of of its own nature to drive away Devils. If you will learn to make any more of this popish stuff, you may go to the very mass-book, and find many good receipts: marry if you search Durandus, &c. you shall find abundance."—Scots. Discov. of Witchcraft. p. 133.

In Ecclesiæ dedicatione.

In rationale divinorum officiorum.

P. 259. l. 33. *Paul sent his pertelet or gyrkin to the sick,*] The spelling in the text is that of the Edit. 1535. I do not recollect whether by design or accident the latter word was not presented in its modern form of *jerkin*. It may amuse the reader to see some of the variations which these words have undergone in the successive translations of the New Testament.

Wickliffe's Translation, the Sudaries. He died A. D. 1384.
Tyndale's first Edit. (1526) Napkyns or Partlettes.
Tyndale's, 1534 and 1536. Coverdale's, 1535. Matthews, 1537.
Taverner's, 1539. Coverdale's, 1550. Napkyns or Partelettes.

Matthew's, 1549. Napkyns or Partletes.
Cranmer's 1539. Cawood's, 1561. Napkins and Partelettes.
Geneva, 1557. Napkyns or Handkerchefs, (Margin, or Kerchefs.)
Rhemish, 1582. Napkins or Handkerchefs.
Barker's 4to. 1583 and 1611. Kerchiefs, (Margin, or Napkins,) or Handkerchiefs.
Barker's fol. 1611. King James's Bible, First Edit. Handkerchiefs or Aprons. So much for St. Paul's *σουδάρια ἢ σιμικίνθια*, (Acts xix. 26.) of which Tyndale says in his answer to Sir T. More, "Paule, by your doctrine, sent hys napkin to heale the sicke, that men should shrine his *sneuceled napkin*, and not to beleue his preachyng."

P. 260. l. 8. *A plowland a piece.*] The measurement of a *plowland*, or carrucate appears to have been arbitrary, and never reduced to any specific standard. It differs considerably, not only in different counties, but in different districts of the same county; and in the same counties at different times. It may, in general, be said to be as much arable land as could be tilled and managed by one plough and its team of horses or oxen in a year; having meadow, pasture, and houses and cattle belonging to it. In the reign of Richard I. it was computed at sixty acres.—Mon. Aug. tom. ii. p. 107; yet another charter 9 Richard I. allots a hundred acres to a carucate. And *Fleta*, temp. Edward I. says, if land lay in three common fields, then nine score acres to a carucate, sixty for winter tillage, sixty for spring tillage, and sixty for fallows. But if the land lay in two fields, then eight score acres to a carucate, one half for tillage and the other for fallow, lib. ii. cap. 72. §. 4. The measure of a carucate was different according to time and place. In 23 Edward III. one carucate of land in Burcester contained one hundred and twelve acres; and two carucates in Middleton were three hundred acres, p. 471. Kennett's Paroch. Antiq. Glos. in V. Ploughland.

By a statute under William III. for charging persons to the repair of the highways, a *plowland* is rated at fifty pounds per annum, and may contain houses, mills, wood, pasture, &c.—Stat. 7 and 8, Will. III. See Rees's Cycl. in V. Carrucate; Nichols's Diss. on Domesd. Pref. to the Hist. of Leic. Antiq. Disc. I. 46, 47; Hutchins's Diss.; Kelham's Domes. Book. Illust. p. 108. Selden. Tit. of Hon. 622.

P. 264. l. 25. *The Collects of St. Lawrence, and of St. Stephens in our Lady matins.*] I have transcribed the two collects from the Salisbury Missal.

The Collect of St. Lawrence.

" Da nobis quesumus omnipotens deus viciorum nostrorum flammas extinguere : qui beato Laurentio tribuisti tormentorum suorum incendia superare. Per dominum."

The Collect of St. Stephen.

" Da nobis quesumus domine imitari quod colimus, ut dicamus inimicos diligere ; quia ejus natalicia celebramus qui novit etiam pro persecutoribus exorare, dominum nostrum Jesum Christium filium tuum. Qui tecum."

P. 265. l. 29. *Boots which doctors of divinity are created in.*] I know not when this custom ceased. In a Tract noticed by Mr. Brand in his Observations on Popular Antiquities, entitled " A Light shining out of Darkness, or Occasional Queries, &c." 4to. 1659, p. 30. is this remark : " Whether it be not a pretty foundation for the Oxford Doctors to stand booted and spurred in the Act, because there is mention in the Scripture of being *shod with the preparation of the gospel ?*"

Boots are mentioned by Bale among the paraphernalia to be destroyed by the ministry of the two apocalyptic witnesses. " And if anye man will hurt them," &c. (Rev. xi. 5.) " If anye manne wyll attempte to do them scathe, or presumptuouslye seketh by craftie coloures, subtile reasons, and deceytful arguments, vpon daungers, doubtes, doctours, old customes, and authoritie of fathers to hinder their office, blemish theyr message, and darken their light, such fyre shal procede out of theyr mouthes as shal consume their enemies. The eternall worde of the Lord that they shal declare (whyche is the consumyng fyre) shal vtterly destroye them, so that nothynge shal be sene of that they were afore, neyther cut shoo, nor corde, coule nor gray cote, *bote* nor blacke hode, rocket nor scapler, myter nor crosier, sandale nor frocke, shauen crown nor anointynge. For all these

are theyr enemyes."—Im. of both Chur. second part. b. iv.—— Also on chap. xviii. 9. he says, "Specyally shal they be sore discontented with the matter, whyche haue with her committed the whoredom of the spirite by manye externe worshippynges of drye waffer cakes, oyles, roodes, relyques, ladys, images, sculles, bones, chyppes, old ragges, showes, *botes*, spurres, hattes, breches, whodes, nightcappes, and such like."—Third part, sig. B b 5.

I beg Mr. Hone to accept my sincere thanks for the remainder of this Note. I find it mentioned in an account of Oxford University Dresses, that "the *boots* were introduced by the Benedictines" anciently, "they were worn by Masters of Arts at their inception; which custom continued till the introduction of the Degree of Doctor, when they were used by them, [the Doctors,] and the masters wore pantables or sandals;[*] instead of, as I conceive, *boots*, which thenceforth appear to have been relinquished by the M. As. to the *Doctors*."

P. 266. l. 11. *Pare the crowns and the fingers of them.*] See the popish degradation of Dr. John Castellane, in Fox, vol. ii. p. 108. Edit. 1641. "Moreover the bishop scraped the nailes of both his hands with a peece of glasse, saying, By this scraping we take away from thee all power to sacrifice, to consecrate, and to blesse, which thou hast received by the annointing of thy hands.....Then the bishop took the sheeres and began to clip his head, saying in this manner: We cast thee out as an unthankfull child of the Lord's heritage, whereunto thou wast called, and take away from thine head the crowne, which is the royal signe of priesthood, through thine own wickednesse and malice."

P. 267. l. 21. *The lay-people should wete what we do.*] Should know as much as we. Tyndale also uses *wit* and *wot* for know. See pp. 418, 421. Hacket, ambassador in the low countries, to

[*] Oxoniana, vol. i. p. 21. where the above information is referred to as having been derived from "Wood's Hist. of Oxford."

Henry VIII. writes to Wolsey respecting the timely "anychyllment and destrucion of the nywe bokes," (Tyndale's translation of the Testament) for he considers from many men's words that they would fain consent to these new "eryssyys which God defend, for yff hyt dyd every fooll wold tynck to be a doctor."—See Mem. of Tyndale, &c.

P. 269. l. 25. *Mortuaries.*] A *mortuary* is so called according to Lindwood, "*quia relinquitur Ecclesiæ pro anima Defuncti*;" it is commonly defined a gift left by a man at his death, by way of recompence for all failures in the payment of tithes or oblations. It is called a corse present, because it was offered in behalf of the corse or person deceased. The manner of paying the *mortuary* was anciently by leading, driving, or carrying the horse, cow, &c. before the corpse of the deceased at his funeral. From whence it appears, that the reason of leading horses before the corpse at the interment of persons of quality, was designed for a *mortuary*, and not so much for any regard to the military character of the deceased.

This payment is of great antiquity; for in the national council of Ensham, held about the year 1006, there is mention made of *mortuaries*, and the time when they were to be paid, in these words, as they are translated by Sir Henry Spelman: *sed æquissimum est ut Animæ Symbolum* [*quam Pecuniam Sepulchralem nunc vocant*] *semper dependatur cum Sepulchrum sit effossum.*[a] And thus the *Symbolum Animæ* in the Saxon imports an acknowledgement or consideration paid for the welfare and benefit of the soul. But though the time for the payment of this *Symbolum Animæ* is stated by the canon, yet the thing was probably left at discretion by the English Saxon church. The motive above mentioned, seems to have been the first ground of paying *mortuaries*; though afterwards, for the greater security of the person, tythes forgotten were thrown into the consideration. After the Norman conquest, the circumstances of this payment were fur-

[a] Spel. Concil. v. i. p. 517.

ther determined, and the second-best beast of the deceased ordered to be paid. The reason why the second-best beast is pitched upon, is, I conceive, because the best of all was oftentimes due for a Hariot to the lord of the manor.—Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. i. p. 487.

P. 269. l. 34. *If a man die in another man's parish, besides that he must pay at home a mortuary for forgotten tithes, he must there pay also the best that he there hath.*] Is not this statement, to say the least, partial and inequitable ? The claims made on a deceased person's property could only be the heriot, or *mortuary*[a] due to the lord at the death of his tenant, which is sometimes the best live beast, or "averium," which the tenant died possessed of, sometimes the best inanimate good, in which a jewel or piece of plate may be included; and the *mortuary* for forgotten tithes, which as we have seen above, is the second-best beast of the deceased.

From Tyndale's assertion, if we are justified in rigidly interpreting his words, it would appear that the clergy, (for to them only can be applied "*another man's parish*") took both these fines; unless we are to suppose that the exaction was still more exorbitant, and that they demanded both in addition to the landlord's heriot. It cannot be just and reasonable to fix that upon the clergy exclusively, which attached to them only in common with the laity; which was the case with the heriot, and which they might receive as landlords, and the *mortuary* as a vicarial due; but this does not meet the statement of Tyndale, for it was perfectly immaterial in this respect, whether a man died in his own or another parish. Perhaps, on the one hand, he has been guilty of an oversight; and on the other, it is not impossible that in many cases the demands were made beyond and contrary to established law and custom. Tyndale could scarcely be ignorant of these distinct claims; for fromt he time of Henry III.

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[a] "The word was used in a civil as well as an ecclesiastical sense, and was payable to the lord of the fee, as well as to the priest of the parish."—Kennett's Gloss. to his Paro. Ant. in V. Mortuary.

the bequests of *heriots* and *mortuaries* were held to be necessary parts in every testament of chattels. Indeed in another part of this very treatise (p. 374.) he speaks of a *mortuary-lease* which, as in the present instance, the spiritualty are represented as demanding and taking on all occasions.

P. 270. l. 4. *Bead-rolls.* P. 433. l. 16. *Thrust them out of their bead-rolls.*] Bead-roll, from the Saxon bede, a prayer and roll. A catalogue, or list of benefactors, to be prayed for.

"I will that myn executrice, at the tyme of the deliuery of the foresaid torches, geve unto everyche curat or curatts deputie of the forenamed ix parishes ivd. to thende that my soule, and the soules above written may be remembered in their parisshe *bede-rolle* by the whole space of a yere after."—Fabian's Will, in Nicolas's Testamenta Vetusta. p. 504.

"Thomas Trethwiffe, Esq. in his Will dated the xxth of September, 1528, bequeaths xs. to the intent that his name may be put in the *bead-roll*, and prayed for every Sunday in the pulpit by name, as the custom of the country is. ibid. 644.

"P^d^ to the Par. Priest to remember in the pulpit the soul of R. Bliet, who gave vi.s. viii.d. to the Church works ij.d." — Churchwarden's Accounts of St. Mary Hill, in the City of London, An. 17 and 19 Edw. IV.

P. 270. l. 9. *Pardoners.*] Sellers of pardons or indulgences.

——————"A gentil *Pardoner*—
His wallet lay before him in his lappe,
Bretful of pardon come from Rome al hote.
But of his craft, fro Berwike unto Ware,
Ne was ther swich an other *pardonere*.
For in his male he had a pilwebere,*
Which, as he saide, was our ladies veil:

* A covering of a pillow.

He saide, he hadde a gobbet of the seyl
Whiche Thatte Seint Peter had, whan that he went
Upon the see, till Jesu Crist him hent.
He had a crois of laton* full of stones,
And in a glass he had pigges bones.
But with these relikes, whanne that he fond
A powre person dwelling up on lond,
Upon a day he gat him more moneie
Than that the persone got in monethes tweie.
And thus with fained flattering and japes,
He made the persone, and the peple, his apes.
But trewely to tellen atte last,
He was in chirche a noble ecclesiast.
Wel coude he rede a lesson or a storie,
But alderbest he sang an offertorie:
For wel he wiste, whan that song was songe,
He must preche, and wel afile his tonge,
To winne silver, as he right wel coude:
Therefore he sang the merier and loude."
C. C. T. v. 671, 688, 694–716.

P. 270. l. 13. *Diriges.*] Dirige; a solemn service in the Romish Church, being an hymn, beginning, *Dirige gressos meos.*

" Matins, and mass, and evensong, and placebo, and *dirige*, and commendation and mattins of our Lady, were ordained of sinful men to be sung with high crying."—Wiclif, of Pre. c. 11. Nare's Glos.

" I wish ye would bestow as much upon this necessary office of salvation (preaching) as in times past ye bestowed in pilgrimages, in images, in gilding, painting, in masses, *diriges*, trentals, chantries, and such vain things of the Romish pharisees and papists' inventing. Ye would do that without calling, and to this will you not be ready when ye be called ?"—Lat. Ser. fol. 92, b. Edit. 1635.

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* A kind of mixed metal of the colour of brass.

P. 270. l. 12. *Month minds.*] "Minnyng Days, (says Blount,) from the Saxon Lemýnde (i.e. the mind, q. Mynding Days, Bede. Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. cap. 30. Commemorationis Dies.) Days, which our ancestors called their monthes mind, their years mind, and the like, being the days whereon their souls, (after their deaths,) were had in special remembrance, and some office or obsequies said for them; as Obits, Dirges, &c. This word is still retained in Lancashire, but elsewhere they are more commonly called Anniversary days."

We read in Fabyan's Chronicle that "In 1439, died Sir Roberde Chichely, Grocer, and twice Mayor of London, the which wylled in his testament that upon his *Mynde Day* a good and competent Dyner should be ordayned to xxiiij c. pore Men, and that of householders of the Citee, yf they myght be founde. And over that was xx pounde distributed among them, which was to every Man two pence."

Fabyan himself, in his will, gives directions for his month's mind: "At whiche tyme of burying, and also the *monethis mynde*, I will that myne Executrice doo cause to be carried from London xii newe Torches, there being redy made, to burn in the tymes of the said burying and *Monethes Minde*: and also that they do purvay for iiij. Tapers of iii. lb. evry pece, to brenne about the Corps and Herse for the foresaid ij. seasons, whiche Torches and Tapers to be bestowed as hereafter shalbe devised; which iiij. Tapers I will be holden at every tyme by foure poore men, to the whiche I will that to everyche of theym be geven for their labours at either of the saide ii. tymes iiij. d. to as many as been weddid men: and if any of theym happen to be unmarried, than they to have but iij. *d.* a pece, and in lyke maner I will that the Torche berers be orderid." In another part of his will he says: "Also I will, that if I decesse at my tenement of Halstedis, that myn Executrice doo purvay ayenst my burying competent brede, ale, and chese, for all comers to the parishe churche, and ayenst the *Monethes Mynde* I will be ordeyned, at the said Church, competent brede, ale, pieces of beffe and moton, and rost rybbys of beffe, and shalbe thought nedeful by the discretion of myn Executrice, for all comers to the said obsequy, over and above brede, ale, and chese, for the

comers unto the dirige over night. And furthermore I will that my said Executrice doo purvay ayeinst the said *Moneth's Mynde,* xxiiij. peces of beffe and moton, and xxiiij. treen platers and xxiiij. treen sponys; the whiche peces of fleshe with the said platers and spoonys with xxiiijd. of siluer, I will be geven unto xxiiij poore persons of the said parisshe of Theydon Garnon if within that parishe so many may be founde; for lake whereof, I will the xxiiij peces of fleshe and ijs. in money, with the foresaid platers and sponys, be geven unto suche poore persones as may be found in the parishes of Theydon at Mount, and Theydon Boys, after the discrecion of myn Executors; and if my said *Monethes Mynde* fall in Lent or upon a fysshe day, than I will that the said xxiiij peces of fleshe be altered unto saltfyche or stokfyshe, unwatered, and unsodyen, and that every pece of beef or moton, saltfyshe or stokfysh, be well in value of a peny or a peny at the leest; and that noo dyner be purveyed for at hom but for my household and kynnysfolks; and I will that my Knyll be rongyn at my *Monethes Mynde* after the guyse of London. Also I will that myn Executrice doo assemble upon the said day of *Monethes Mynde* xij. of the porest menys children of the foresaid parissbe, and after the masse is ended and other obseruances, the said children to be ordered about my grave, and there knelyng, to say for my soule and all crysten soules, "De profundis," as many of them as can, and the residue to say a Paternoster, and a Ave oonly; to the which xij children I will be given xiijd. that is to meane, to that childe that beginneth "De profundis," and saith the preces, ijd. and to euerych of the other jd."—See Fabyan's Chron. new Edit. Pref. pp. iv. vi.

The following is an extract from the will of Thomas Windsor, Esq. 1479. "Item, I will that I have brennyng at my burying and funeral service, four Tapers and twenty two Torches of wax, every Taper to conteyn the weight of ten pounds, and every Torch sixteen pounds, which I will that twenty-four very poor men, and well disposed, shall hold as well at the tyme of my burying, as at my *Monethe's Minde.* Item, I will that after my *Monethe's Minde* be done, the said four Tapers be delivered to the Church wardens, &c. And that there be a hundred Children within the age of sixteen years to be at my *Monethe's Minde*, to

say for my soul. That against my *Monethe's Minde*, the candles bren before the rude in the Parish Church. Also that at my *Monethe's Minde* my Executors provide twenty Priests to sing Placebo, Dirige, &c.'—See Gent. Mag. for 1793, vol. lxiii. p. 1191.

In Ireland, " after the day of interment of a great personage, they count four weeks ; and that day four weeks, all priests and friars, and all gentry, far and near, are invited to a great feast, (usually termed the *Month's Mind*;) the preparation to this feast are masses, said in all parts of the house at once, for the soul of the departed ; if the room be large, you shall have three or four priests together celebrating in the several corners therof; the masses done, they proceed to their feastings ; and after all, every priest and friar is discharged with his largess."—Sir Henry Piers' Description of West Meath, 1682, in Vallancey's Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis. vol. i. p. 126.

See Brand's Pop. Ant. vol. ii. p. 215.

P. 270. l. 14. *Trentals.*] A *trental, trigintal,* or *tricennal* was a service of thirty masses, rehearsed for thirty days successively after the death of the party. It takes its name from the Italian *trenta, thirty.*—See Du Cange, in v. Trentale.

Isabel, Dutchess of York in the 14th century directs by will that " on the day of her death, an hundred *trentals,* and one hundred sauters be said for her soul, and that on her burial day her best horse be given for her Mortuary."—Nicolas's Test. Vet. p. 135.

" Will of Elizabeth Lady Scrope, of Upsal and Masham, widow. 7th. March, 9th Henry VIII. 1518. My body to be buried in the Black Friars in London, beside my lorde my husband Thomas Lord Scrope of Upsall and Masham. I will that five *trentalls* of masses be sung and said for my soul at the place of my burial, and for the soul of my said lord and husband, and of Alice his daughter and mine, for Sir Henry Wentworth's soul, and for the soul of my lord my father John Marquess of Montagu, and the Lady Isabel his wife my mother, and for all christian souls."—Nicolas's Test. Vet. p. 587, 8.

P. 270. l. 30. *Somners and apparitors.*] These are not two distinct officers. The Sompnour, Somner, or Summoner, is now called an Apparitor, the officer employed to summon or cite delinquents to appear in ecclesiastical courts. "We are desirous to redres such abuses and aggrievances, as are said to grow by *somners* or *apparitors*."—Const. and Canon Eccles. § 138. cited by Mr. Todd.

> "A *Sompnour* was ther with us in that place,
> That had a fine red cherubennes face, &c."
>
> See his character and tale in Chaucer.

P. 280. l. 35. *or pour too much wine in the chalice*] "It had been good for our missal priests to have dwelled in that country, for they might have been sure to have their wine well mingled with water. I remember how scrupulous I was in my time of blindness and ignorance; when I should say Masse, I have put in Water twice or thrice for failing, insomuch when I have been at my *Memento*, I have had a grudge in my conscience for fearing that I had not put in water enough."—Latimer's Ser. p. 45. Edit. 1635.

P. 282. l. 2. *Chantreys.*] A chantry was a church or chapel, endowed with lands or other yearly revenue, for the maintenance of one or more priests, daily saying or singing mass for the souls of the doners and such others as they appointed.

Ibid. *mean men build chantreys,*] men in moderate condition and circumstances, in a middle state between the great and the poor. Richard La Warre, a knight, reckoned himself of this class, see Note to p. 481. As in some former instances, where the introduction of a sentence only might have sufficed for the illustration of a word in the text, I have cited passages at some length, either for the instruction they contained, or as a specimen of a contemporary writer; so I shall here quote a paragraph

from Sir Thomas More's Dialogue, that the reader may form some idea of the courtesy of his manner, and the force of his arguments in this work against "the pestylent sect of Luther and Tyndale, by the tone by gone in Saxony, and by the tother laboryd to be brought into England."

"Cryste also promised saynt Mary Magdalene shulde be worshyped thorow the worlde and haue here an honorable remembraunce for that she bestowed that precyouse oyntement vppon hys holy hed. Whych thyng whan I consyder, it makyth me meruayle of the madnes of these heretiques that barke agaynst the old auncient customes of crystys chyrch, mockyng the settyng vppe of candellys and wyth folyshe facecyes and blasphemous mockery demaunde whyther God and hys sayntys lak lyght or whyther yt be nyght wyth theym that they can not see wythoute candle. They myght as well aske what good dyd that oyntement to Christis hed. But the heretyques gruge at the coste now, as theyre brother Judas dyd than, and say it were better spent in almys vppon pore folk. And thys say many of theym whyche can neyther fynde in theyre harte to spend vppon the one nor the tother. And sum spend sometmye vppon the tone for none other entent but to thend that they may the more boldely rebuke and rayle agaynste the tother. But let them all by that ensample of that holy woman, and by those wordys of our Savyour, lerne that God delyteth to se the feruent hete of the hartis deuotion boyl out by the body. And to do him seruyse with all such goodis of fortune as God hath gevin man.

"What ryches deuysed our Lord God hymselfe in the making and garnishyng of the temple and in the ornamentes of the auter and the prestes apparayle, what was himselfe the better for all thys? what for the bestis that hymself commaunded to be offred hym in sacryfyce? what for the swete odours and frankensense? why do these heretiques more mocke at the maner of chrystis chyrche than they do at the maner of the Jewes synagoge but yf they be beter Jewes than crysten men?

"If men wyll say that the mony were better spent among poore folke by whom he more setteth, beyng the quycke temples of the holy goste made by hys owne hand, than by the temples of

stone made by the hand of man. This wold be percase very trew if there were so lytle to do yt wyth that we shuld be dreuyn of necessyte to leue the tone vndone. But God gevyth inough for both. And geuyth dyuerse men dyuers kyndys of devocyon and all to hys pleasure. In which as thapostle Poule sayth let euery man for hys parte abounde and be plentuouse in that kynde of vertu that the spyryte of God guydeth him to; and not to be of the folyshe mynde that Luther is, which wisheth in a sermon of his that he had in hys hand all the pecys of the holy crosse. And saith that yf he so had he wold throw them there as neuer sonne shuld shyne on them. And for worshupfull reason wold the wreche do such velany to the crosse of Chryst? bycause as he sayth that there is so much golde now bestowed aboute the garneshyng of the pyecys of the crosse that there is none lefte for pore folke. Is not thys an high reason? as though all the golde that is now bestowed aboute the pecys of the holy crosse wolde not haue faylede to haue ben geuen to pore men if they had not ben bestowed aboute the garnishing of the crosse. And as though ther were nothing lost but that is bestowed about Christis cros.

"Take all the gold that is spent all the pecys of Christis crosse thorow christendome, albeit many a good chrysten prince and other godly people hath honourably garnyshed many peces therof, yet yf all the gold were gathered together, yt wold appere a pore porcyon in comparison of the gold that is bestowed vppon cuppys? what speke we of cuppys? in which the gold albeit that it be not geuen to pore men yet ys it saued and may be geuen in almouse whan men wyll, whych they neuer wyll: how small a porcyon wene we were the gold about all the pecys of chrystys crosse yf yt were compared with the gold that is quyte cast away about the gilting of kniues, swordis, sporys, arrace, and paynted clothes: and as though these thyngis could not consume gold fast inough the gylting of postys and hole rofes, not in the palacis of princys and great prelatis, but also many *ryght mene mennes* houses. And yet among all these thingis coud Luther spy no gold that grevously glyterid in his bleryd eyes but onely aboute the cros of chryst; that gold yf yt were thens the wyse man wenyth yt wold be streyght geuen to

pore men; and that where he dayly seeth that such as haue theyr purs full of golde geue to the pore not one pece thereof, but yf they gyue ought they ransake the botome among all the gold to seke out here an halfpeny or in his countrey a bras peny wherof four make a ferthing: such goodly causes find they that pretend holines for the colour of theyr cloked heresyes."—Ch. II. fol. 7, 8. Edit. 1528. For Tyndale's reply, see vol. iii. p. 87.

Ibid. *Poor find trentals and brotherhoods and begging friars*] support them by their contributions. "Maister friar hath had a trental, and father limitour a bushell of malt or a chyese for playnge the knaves also."—Bale's Im. of both Church. sign. C. 3. b.

P. 286. l. 14, 15. *Bush at a tavern door,——wine therein to be sold.*] The proverb is well known, "Good wine needs no bush." In "Greene in Conceipt," 4to. 1598, p. 10, we read, "Good wine needs no *Ivie Bush*."

"Like as an *Ivy Bush* put forth at a Vintrie, is not the cause of the wine, but a Signe that wine is to bee sold there."—Vaughan's Golden Grove, 8vo. Lond. 1608, sign. B. b. b.

"Box and Ivy last long green, and therefore Vintners make their Garlands thereof: though perhaps Ivy is the rather used, because of the antipathy between it and wine."—Cole's Introd. to the Knowledge of Plants, p. 65.

In "Poor Robin's Perambulation from Saffron Walden to London," July 1678, 4to. Lond. 1678, at p. 16, we read:

> "Some Alehouses upon the road I saw,
> And some with *Bushes, shewing they wine did draw.*"
> Brand's Obs. on Pop. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 246, 7.

Here may be inserted a note omitted p. 22. l. 34. *The alepole.*] By the following passage in "Whimsies: or a new Cast of Characters," 12mo. Lond. 1631. second part, p. 15, it should seem that signs in ale-houses succeeded *Birch-poles*. The author is describing a painter. "He bestowes his

pencile on an aged piece of decayed canvas, in a sooty ale-house, where *Mother Redcap* must be set out in her colours. Here hee and his barmy hostesse *drew* both together, but not in like nature; she in *ale*, he in oyle: but her commoditie goes better downe, which he meanes to have his full share of, when his worke is done. If she aspire to the conceite of a signe, and desire to have her Birch-pole pulled downe, he will supply her with one."

In Dekker's "Wonderful Yeare," 4to. Lond. signat. F. we read: "Spied a Bush at the ende of a Pole (the auncient badge of a Countrey Ale-house.)"—See Brand's Obs. on Pop. Antiq. vol. ii. p. 246, 7.

P. 300. l. 14. *lopen,*] leaped.

"Lucifer lovelokest tho' - - - - - -
He and others wit hym nought with treuthe
Lopen out in lothliche forme, for hus false wille
He had lust to be lyke hus Lord God Almyghty."

Par.—Lucifer. Then the loveliest of all. - - - - - He, and others with him, who kept not the truth, *leaped* forth in loathsome shapes, because he would be like his God.—P. Plough. p. 18.

P. 305. l. 25. *This doth God avenge.* P. 334. l. 17. *This is God and Christ.*] Thus, or in this manner.

P. 310. l. 18. *If the child be not altogether dipt in the water, &c.*] In the Book of Common Prayer, first Edit. of Edward VI. 1549, are the following directions for baptizing the child:—

"Then the priest shall take the childe in his handes, and aske the name: And namyng the chylde, shall dyppe it in the water thrise. Fyrst dipping the rightsyde: second the left-syde: The thirde time dipping the face toward the font: so it be discretely and warely done; saying, I baptise, &c. And if the childe be weake, it shall suffice to powre water vpon it, saying the forsaide wordes."

P. 312. l. 10. *a make,*] a mate, a wife, husband, &c.

" Among whose spoils, great Solyman's fair make,
With her deare children we did captive take."

" There's no goose so gray in the lake,
That cannot find a gander for her *mate.*"
Lyly's Mother Bombie, iii. 4.

" And of faire Britomart example take,
That was as true in love as turtle to her *make.*"
Spens. F. Q. III. xi. 2. Nare's Glossary.

P. 315. l. 3. *join them,*] enjoin them.

P. 319. l. 14. *Offer their feet to be kissed - - - -*] I had resolved on the omission of this passage, and one or two others equally offensive in the present volume; but I have been induced to suffer the author's language to appear in the text; and now have no other apology to offer to those who may justly expect one, than to express my regret that Tyndale should have used such expressions; and that the taste and decision of the literary world, in its present state of refinement, should not allow an editor the privilege of a common scavenger in removing the filth which past ages have left behind them. As the passage remains, I cannot but observe, that if the allusion be made, as I suppose it is, to a *custom* originating in the *story* of Pope Joan, I vouch for nothing, as to the truth of the one or the other. Mosheim may be consulted (vol. ii. pp. 300, 301, 8vo. ed. 1782.) for a list of authors who have written on both sides of the question; and, for the rest, Bale's Pageant of Popes, fol. 57. and " of Dispensations," at the end of the volume, ed. 1574.

It is not, however, to be supposed that Tyndale exceeded his contemporaries in the homeliness of his phrases. His great antagonist Sir Thomas More, with all his celebrated endowments, did not only act the buffoon in the arms of death,

and jest at the gate of heaven; but in his "Dialogue against the pestilent sects of Luther and Tyndale," whose writings he had been licensed by Bishop Tonstal to peruse, that his Demosthenean[a] eloquence might be exerted against them, was so scandalously obscene in his stories, [*gestes*,] that Tyndale, as if to avoid the contagion, answered a long chapter, polluted by them, with the brief sentence, "That it was meet for the author, and his worshipful doctrine." It is to this part of the Chancellor's works, I presume, that Reginald Scot, in his Discovery of Witchcraft, refers, where he alludes to one of his tales which he declares he was ashamed to write either in English or Latin.

P. 338. l. 6. P. 433. l. 2. *draff*,] refuse; dregs; things thrown away as unfit for man's food; hogwash.

> "Why shuld I sowen *draf* out of my fist,
> Whan I may sowen whete, if that me list."
> Ch. C. T. v. 17346, 7.

This word is often used by some of the Protestant writers about Tyndale's time, in reference to the religious orders, doctrines, traditions, and ceremonies of the Romish church. It is one of the most decent of Bale's vocabulary of anti-commendation. "As the vessells of a potter shall he breake them to shevers." (Rev. ii. 27.) "But also as the weake vessels of a potter, or as most vayne fantasyes, confound theyr dreames,

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[a] "Et quia tu, Frater charissime, in lingua nostra vernacula, sicut etiam in Latina Demosthenem quendam præstare potes et Catholicæ veritatis assertor acerrimus in omni congressu esse soles, melius subscisivas horas, si quas tuis occupationibus suffurrari potes collocare nunquam poteris, quam in nostrate lingua aliqua edas quæ simplicibus et ideotis hominibus subdolam hæreticorum malignitatem aperiant, ac contra tam impios Ecclesiæ supplantores reddant eos instructiores: Habes ad id exemplum quod imiteris præclarissimum, illustrissimi Domini nostri Regis Henrici octavi, qui Sacramenta Ecclesiæ contra Lutherum totis viribus ea subvertentem assercre aggressus immortale nomen Defensoris Ecclesiæ in omne ævum promeruit." Licentia concessa d'no Thome More militi Cancellario Anglie legendi et retinendi libros Lutherianam heresim continentes.—Regist. Tonst. fol. 138.

destroye theyr ymaginacyons, and brynge theyr practyses to nought, prouynge their tradicyons to be most vyle *draffe*, and most stynkyng dreggs of synne, for so muche as that which is not of faith, is sinne."—Image of both Churches. Sign. E 8.

" If your canon lawe (wherof ye are a commensed doctour) and all the ceremonyes whych ye haue of the pope were brought to the tryall of God's worde they schuld not onlye apere sondrye errours, but also blasphemouse beggerye, detestable lernynge, and abhomynable wytcherye, the pharysees leuen, lyes of hypocrites, adders egges, spyders webbes, bryres, tares, cocle, chaffe, ... rust, dust, dregges, dreames, dottage, dronkennesse, dogges dyrt, swylle, *swynes draffe*, fylthynesse, stubble, snares of enemyes, execrable doctrine of devyls, God's curse, and abhomynacyon syttynge in the holye place. " Yet a course at the Romyse Fox." By Johan Harryson (Bale) fol. 61. Zurik, 1543. The following example is from Bale's poem before cited: for I cannot doubt that it is his, when in addition to other internal evidence of its being his composition, I find in the work just quoted the same phrases as are there used: compare fol. 17, " with soche lyke pylde pedlarye and Romyshe ware," with the beginning of the verses. See note to p. 92. l. 15.

THE PAPYSTE.

" If thou wylt take the byble boke,
And upon Saynt James pystle loke,
Ther you shall, I trowe, se
How fayth is ther trewly applyed,
And good workes with him tyed;
Se how they do agre."

THE CHRISTIANE.

" Paule only of fayth,
Of workes, saynt James sayth,
God doth us justifye.
Before God fayth thanne,
And workes before manne,
Concludeth thys controversye.
Fides sine operibus mortua est. Jaco. ii.

The workes that you make
Trew fayth do not wake,
For why, they are but chaffe.
Nolite margaritas ponere ante porcos. Matt. vii.
Goddes word doth diffyne
That ye are but swyne,
Ye fede in swylle and draffe."

P. 339. l. 1. *They divide the Scripture into four senses, the literal, tropological, allegorical, and anagogical.*] I find that Wickliffe recognizes these four senses in one of his Postils upon the gospels of Sundays, and other festival days; which seemed not unworthy of transcription from the MSS. in the British Museum, as it serves to shew how deeply rooted, and extensive was the evil, which Tyndale so forcibly exposes; and how much the cause of biblical science, as well as of Christian truth in general, is indebted to his honest and zealous labours.

" *Dominica* XII^a. *post trinitatem*
Exiens Jesus de finibus tiri. Mar. 7°.

" This gosspel telleth a miracle of crist to make men to loue him and trowe in his power. Hou a deef man and doumb was helid of crist. Jhū wente out of the contre of tirus, and he cam bi sydon to the water of Galile. And he cam thoru a contre that men clepen decapolios, whiche contre conteyneth x citees withynne hym. And men of the contre broughten to him a deef man and domb man also, and praiden crist to putte to him his hond: for thei conceyueden that bi this scholde crist fully hele him. And crist took this seek man aside fro the peple, and putte his fyngres in to bothe his eris. And spittynge, with his fynger crist touchede his tonge. And crist lokinge in to heuen with a deolful chere, seide to this seek man, be thi wittis openid, and anon weren his eris openid for to here, and the bond of his tonge was openid for to speke aright. And crist bad this men to publische nought this miracle, but euer the more that he bad thus, ever the more thei precheden. And ever the more thei wondreden and saiden

among hem self, that crist hadde idone alle thinges wel, ffor he made the dombe men to speke, and deef men to here.

It is seid comonely that holy writ hath iiij. undirstonddinges. The first vndirstondinge is pleyn bi lettre of the storie. The seconde vndirstondinge is clepid wit of Allegorik, whan men vnderstonden the wyt of the lettre: whan thing schal falle here of before the day of dome. The thridde vndirstondinge is clepid tropologik, and it techeth hou men scholden lyue here in virtues. The ferthe vndirstondinge is clepid anagogik, and it telleth hou it schal be with men that ben in heuene. We scholden knowe the secounde wit of this gosspel, ffor it is bileue of cristene men in erthe, we scholden bileue that mankynde fel from the staat of innocens for Adamis synne and Eve. And Jhū, God and man, boughte mankynde fro the fendis prisone as this gosspel telleth. And so our Jhū wente fro the bosom of the fader of heuene, for tirus is makynge, and God made of nought bothe aungelis and men and al this brode world. He came bi Sidon, that is aungelis kynde whan he gret our lady bi servise of aungelis. And thus aungel Gabriel with alle other that stoden heelden pees with God and leften the ferste synne. But our Jhū wente out to the water of Galile, for he took the staat of man sliden from innocentz. For Galile is a wheel whirlinge or passing. And so dede mankynde after that it hadde synned. Crist cam thoru the contre hadde x citees, for he cam bi alle men that weren bisegid with the fend. And thes men ensegid thus ben alle thes citees, and mankynde thus ensegid bringeth to Jhū here kynde that was deef and domb bi the synne of Adam, ffor thei leften to here god and herde the fend, and troweden to the fendis lore, and leften the lore of god. And so weren thei deef to heren of god what thei scholden do, Jhū took mankynde that was thus seek, not in eche persone, but singulerly in on. And crist put his fyngres in eris of this domb man, whan he appliede his virtu, sotily worchinge for to teche man how he wente from god. And with his spotele he touchide his tonge whan he ghaf him vertu to herie god rightly. And so crist hadde sorewe of thes two synnes of man, and bad that the bond of his wit scholde be openid. But Jhū bad that thei scholden not preise him her-

fore bi his manhede. And for this meeknesse thei preiseden him more by his godhede, and seiden soth that he made alle thinges wel, ffor he made deef men to here and domb men to speke, ffor men deef in goddis lore, he made here what god spak in hem both in maundementz and in counseil. And therby thei lerneden to speke. And so thre miraclis dede crist to gidere in sauynge of mankynde. He made men deef bi synne to here what god spak in hem; and men domb fro rigt speche to speke openly goddis lawe. And so bi side thes vertues, to here and to speke god mouede mankynde to do as thei scholden. And so may men see, bothe moche they is been to blame, that ben domb and deef in this maner of worchinge."—Cott. MSS. Claudius D. 8. fol. 172.

P. 339. l. 9. *chopologial*] so printed in Edit. 1572, but evidently wrong. It is correctly printed in Copland's Edit. 1561. and the earlier editions, tropological. He, however, uses the word afterwards (p. 343, 4,) to burlesque the tropological sense of Scripture. The phrase to chop logick, was in familiar use in Tyndale's time. An instance occurs to my recollection in Sir Thomas More's Dialogue. "A well then quod I reason must he nedys haue then that shall parceyue what he shulde beleue. And so must reson not resyst fayth but walk wyth her, and as her handmayd so wayt upon her, that as contrary as ye take her, yet of a trouth fayth goth neuer wythout her. But likewise as if a mayd be suffred to ronne on the brydle or be cup shoten or wax to proude, she will then wax copious and *chop logyk* wyth her mastres, and fare sometyme as she were frantyk, so if reason be suffred to ren out at ryot and wax ouer hye hartyd and proude, she wyll not fayle to fall in rebellyon toward her mastres fayth. But on the other syde if she be well brought up and well gyded and kept in good temper, she shall neuer disobey faythe beyng in her right minde. And therefore let reason be well gyded, for surely fayth goth neuer wythout her. —Sir T. More's Dial. fol. 31. b. Edit. 1528.

P. 340. *Avisement,*] advisement, counsel.

" - - - I think there never
Marriage was managed with a more *avisement.*"

B. Jonson's Tale of a Tub. ii. 1. cited by Mr. Todd.

P. 347. l. 25, 27. *Homely gest of Noah—jested thereof.*] In addition to the note on p. 8, where, by a collection of synonymous phrases, it appears how frequently Tyndale used the word (*gest*) in the sense of *gestum,* a deed, or action, or relation of any thing, as in the preceding page, (p. 346, l. 22. there is no story nor gest, &c.) it is worthy of notice here, where the word *gest* and its derivative *gested* occur with different significations, that in all the early editions they are spelled the same (*gest* and *gested*;) although, in conformity with the plan of this work, the modern spelling of the latter word is adopted in the text. There can be little doubt that the word *jest* is originally the same as *gest*; used at first with greater latitude for any tale or story; and at length confined, after, perhaps, passing through various gradations of meaning, to its present connection with to what is ludicrous, and intended only to excite laughter and merriment.

P. 354. l. 23. *to nosel.*] Written also nousle, nusle, nuzle; as to noursle, or nursle, to nurse up.

"Bald friars, and knavish shavelings—sought to *nousel* the common people in ignorance, lest being once acquainted with the truth of things, they would in time smell out the untruth of their packed pelt and masse-penny religion."—E. K. on Spenser's Shep. Cal. June.

"Those mothers who, to *nousle* up their babes,
Thought nought too curious, are ready now
To eat those little darlings whom they loved."

Shakes. Per. Act I. Sc. 4.

See Todd's and Nare's Gloss. Mal. Shakes. Ed. 1821. vol. xxi. p. 50.

See p. 436. *noselling* them in ceremonies, &c.

P. 358. l. 27. *The Pope is kin to Robin Goodfellow.*] This account of Robin Goodfellow, alias Pucke, alias Hobgoblin, agrees with other writers, before and after Tyndale's time. Shakespeare, in the Midsummer Night's Dream, thus describes this innocent spiritual relation of the universal father.

> " Either I mistake your shape and making quite,
> Or else you are that shrewd and knavish sprite,
> Called Robin Goodfellow: are you not he
> That fright the maidens of the villagery;
> Skim milk; and sometimes labour in the quern,
> And bootless make the breathless housewife churn;
> And sometimes make the drink to bear no barm;
> Mislead night-wanderers, laughing at their harm?
> Those that Hobgoblin call you, and sweet Puck,
> You do their work, and they shall have good luck."
>
> Act II. Scene 1.

This account of Robin Goodfellow corresponds, in every article, with that given of him in Harsenet's Declaration, ch. xx. p. 134: " And if that the bowle of curds and creame were not duly set out for Robin Goodfellow, the friar, and Sisse, the dairy maid, why then either the pottage was burnt to next day in the pot, or the cheeses would not curdle, or the butter would not come, or the ale in the fat never would have good head. But if a Peeter-penny, or an housle egge, were left behind, or a patch of tythe unpaid,—then 'ware of bull-beggars, spirits, &c." He is mentioned by Cartwright [Ordinary, Act III. Sc. 1.] "as a spirit particularly fond of disconcerting and disturbing domestic peace and economy."—T. Warton.

Reginald Scot in his " Discovery of Witchcraft," gives the same account of the once popular belief in the frolics of Robin.

" Indeed your Grandames maids were wont to set a bowl of milk before him (*Incubus*) and his cousin *Robin Goodfellow*, for grinding of malt or mustard, and sweeping the house at midnight: and you have also heard, that he would chafe exceedingly, if the maid or good-wife of the house, having compassion of his nakedness laid any clothes for him, besides his mess of white bread and milk, which was his standing fee. For in that case he saith,

" What have we here ? Hemton hamten ;
Here will I never more tread nor stampen."
P. 47. fol. ed. 1665.

From what Tyndale says, p. 355, and in many other places, of the Pope, he would have compared him to Robin Badfellow, as readily as to his predecessor, had he been so early as his time brought into notice. An extract of a few lines must suffice for him.

" 'Twas a mad Robin that did divers prancks,
For which with some good cheare they gave him thankes,
And that was all the kindness he expected,
With gaine (it seems) he was not much infected.
But as that Time is past, that Robin's gone,
He and his Night-mates are to us unknowne ;
And in the steed of such Good-fellow sprites,
We meet with *Robin Badfellow* a nights,
That enters houses secret in the darke,
And only comes to pilfer, steale, and sharke ;
And as the one made dishes cleane, (they say)
The other takes them quite and cleane away."
More Knaves yet. The Knaves of Spades and Diamonds.
By Samuel Rowlands. See Brand's Obs. on Pop.
Ant. vol. ii. p. 359.

P. 364. l. 27. *wickedness of our spirits.* P. 365, l. 35. *wicked spirits.* P. 378. 28. *the doctrine of our spirits.*] May not this sense be made the twenty-first in Mr. Todd's Johnson (in v. Spirit,) as confining the word to the spiritualty, or ecclesiastical body?

P. 365. l. 21. *Lade the lips of their beadmen*] Prayer-men.—Letters of this period were generally concluded with the expression ; for instance :—

Your most humble beideman,
THOMAS CRANMER.
Your humble bedeman,
CUTB. DURESME.

Within a few years of Tyndale's writing, I find Sir Ralph Shirley by will dated 10th March, 1513, lading the lips of his bedemen with a thousand masses of requiem, and other masses most

expedient and behoveful for his soul's health to be sung and said on the day of his burial, and as soon after as possibly might be. And Sir Thomas Wyndham, by his will dated 22nd Oct. 1521, directing that as soon as possible one thousand masses should be said for him in the city of Norwich, and the shire of Norfolk, to be parcelled out in this fashion. One hundred in the honour of the blessed Trinity; in honour of the five wounds of our Saviour Jesus Christ, one hundred; in the honour of the five joys of our blessed Lady, one hundred; in the honour of the nine orders of angels one hundred; in the honour of the patriarchs one hundred; in the honour of the twelve Apostles, one hundred; in the honour of all saints, one hundred; of Requiem one hundred; in the honour of St. John the Evangelist, thirty; in the honour of St. George, forty; in the honour St. Thomas of Canterbury, thirty; in the honour of St. Margaret, forty; in the honour of St. Katherine, thirty; and of St. Barbara, thirty; which maketh the number of a thousand masses.

P. 369. l. 9. *Sir John.*] The title of *Sir* was very early applied to all who had entered into holy orders. At the Universities *Dominus*, the academical title of a Bachelor of Arts, was usually rendered by *Sir* in English, in addressing the person in conversation, or by writing. In the "Letters written by Eminent Persons," vol. i. p. 117, Lond. 1813, one to Mr. Hearn, the Antiquarian, begins, "Sir Hearn," and is dated Dec. 12, 1700. Archdeacon Nares observes that this title was thus used in some colleges, even in his memory.

Sir John was a general expression for any curate, or priest. Individuals were designated or addressed by this title prefixed to their names. In the "Practice of Prelates," Tyndale speaks of *Sir Thomas Hitton*, a preacher at Maidstone, where he was burned for heresy, An. 1529.—See Fox's Acts and Mon. vol. ii. p. 258. iii. 1003. Ed. 1641.

In answer to Sir Thomas More's enquiry of Humphrey Monmouth, committed to the Tower on suspicion of heresy, "What exhibition he gave to any body beyond sea," he said, "that in four years past he did give unto a *Prieste, called Sir*

William Tyndale, otherwye called Hotchens."—Harleian MSS. N. 425. fol. 10.

" And thus he said unto us everich on,
This swete preest, this goodly man *Sire John.*"
Ch. C. T. v. 14825, 6.

" Ser Johan now is bolde
In yche place to scolde,
Where men do not care
For pylde popyshe ware,
He doth them accuse,
And say they refuse
The lawes of the Lorde,
Bryngynge false recorde."
Anon. See note to p. 338.

" Doeth the name make a priest? As maister persone, *Sir John*, or my Lorde byshope. Naye (sayeth our maister Christe,) Wo vnto you phariseis that wilbe called maisters, and haue the vayne title of Rabby; he that exalteth hymselfe shalbe brought lowe."—Gilby's Answer to Gardner, fol. 198.

"Else must they haue the name of the beast to be called spiritual men, or the holy consecrat numbre, as hys holy fatherhode is called. Or at the least they must haue the numbre of his name, which is a note of magnificence and worthines. Lesse can they not be called then lordes, so mani as are sworn to that spiritual market. The most ragged ronnagate, and idle idiote amonge theym, is no lesse then a *Syr*, which is a Lord in the latin, as Syr John, Syr Thomas, Syr William."—Bale's Image of both Churches, second part, sign. k iv.

" I will not speake now of them, that beyng not content with landes and rentes, do catche into their handes spirituall liuinges, as personages and such like, and that vnder the pretence to make prouision for their houses. What hurt and damage this realme of England doth sustaine, by that deuilishe kynde of prouision for Gentlemen's houses, Knightes, and Lordes houses, they can tell best that do trauell in the countreys, and see with their eyes, great parishes, and market townes, with innumerable others, to be vtterly destitute of God's word, and that because that these greedy men have

spoyled the liuynges, and gotten them into their handes; and, instead of a faytfull and paynfull teacher, they hyre a *Sir John*, who hath better skill in playing at tables, or in keepyng of a garden, then in God's word; and he for a trifle doth serue the Cure, and so helpe to bryng the people of God in daunger of their souls."—Ded. to Lat. Ser. Ed. 1584.

P. 400. l. 21. *they were over old men.*] All the editions agree in this reading; yet I think *over* was originally misprinted for *ever*.

P. 403. l. 22. *lightly,*] easily, readily, of course, usually, commonly. Genesis xxvi. 10. Mark ix. 39.

"There's lightning *lightly* before thunder."
Ray's Proverbs, p. 130, Third Edit.

"Short summers *lightly* have a forward spring."
Shakes. Rich. III. Act. III. Sc. 1.

P. 403. l. 36. *fainty,*] weak. The people were excedynge fayntye.—Beck's Bible, Edit. 1549. 1 Sam. xiv. 31.

"The ladies gasp'd, and scarcely could respire;
The breath they drew, no longer air, but fire:
The *fainty* knights were scorch'd, and knew not where
To run for shelter; for no shade was near."
Dryden.

P. 404. l. 20. *waten.*] The first Edit. 1530, has watē; the Edit. at London, by Anthony and Wyllyman Seres, and the Ed. 1572, have waten.

Whether there is any meaning to be attached to this word; or what Tyndale wrote, the reader may as well indulge in conjecturing as the Editor.

But it may be remarked, that however the modern typographer may pride himself on his accuracy, some of the old

printers were sadly complained of. Take one instance out of many.

"But, says Bale, ij. cruell enemies have my juste labours had in that behalfe, of whome the one hathe them falsifyed, the other blasphemed. Whiche hath caused me leaue them out (his allegations of the Scriptures and doctors) in al that here followeth.

"The printers are the fyrst whose heady hast, negligence, and couetousnesse commonly corrupteth al bokes. These haue both displased them and also chaunged their numbers to the truths derogation what though they had at their handes jj. learned correctours which take all paynes possyble to preserue them."—Pref. to the second part of Im. of both Churches.

What is the date of that Edition of the Bible which reads in Ps. cxix. 161.—Printers have persecuted me without a cause?

P. 413. l. 27. *saith Platina in the life of popes.*] "The most considerable of his works, says Bayle, is, The History of the Popes, from St. Peter to Sixtus IV. to whom he dedicated it. It is variously spoken of: the Protestants like it well enough, and have placed the author in the catalogue of the witnesses of truth. Some Roman Catholics accuse him of want of sincerity and diligence. Nevertheless, Panvinius did not scruple to publish that History with notes of his own, and to add to it the Lives of the Popes from Sixtus IV. to Pius IV. Cicarella went on, and added to it the Lives of the Popes from Pius V. to Clement VIII.

Illyricus gives this account of the work: "Although Platina has flattered the Popes in a scandalous and impudent manner: nevertheless he is sometimes constrained by their extreme wickedness and cruelty to discover the abominable sins of the "whore of Babylon." In the life of Marcellinus, he complains that the iniquities of the popes were come to such a height, that there was scarce any room left for the mercy of God: that their covetousness, pride, neglect of learning, (*neglectum doctrinæ*) hypocrisy and vices, that even in profligates would be ac-

counted execrable, were grown so public that they seemed to glory in them. In his Lives of the Popes, after the year one thousand, he often says *that all piety* and holiness was fled from the popes to the Cæsars." Bayle adds: "I should willingly subscribe to the judgment which Robert Creyghton made upon that work of Platina. "Platina, a dry and barren writer, often wants words, often sense, very often experience, and sometimes integrity. And, which is still more to be wondered at he has no where blundered more remarkably than in the Life of Eugenius, in whose time he flourished." The first edition of this History was printed at Venice, in 1479, in folio, and has been several times printed since in different forms. It has been translated into the German, Italian, and French languages.

Our author, Bartholomew Platina, was born in the year 1421, in a village called Piadena, between Cremona and Mantua. His first profession was that of a soldier, which he relinquished for that of literature. He died of the plague in the year 1481. For an account of his imprisonment and sufferings for his opposition to Paul II., his liberation and appointment to the office of Library-keeper of the Vatican, by Sextus VI. and a complete list of his works, the reader is referred to Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary.

P. 433. l. 20. *celarer,*] cellarer, or cellerer. The officer who had the care of the provisions.

"——— ——— Thou hast a ful faire skin;
It is a gentil pasture ther thou gost;
Thou art not like a penaunt or a gost.
Upon my faith thou art som officer,
Som worthy sextein, or som *celarer.*"
Ch. C. T. v. 13938—42.

P. 438. l. 6. *Rutter*] a horse-soldier, a trooper.

"Clothed in sacke clothe." (Rev. xi. 3.) No pompe shal apeare in their apparell, no glory of the world in their behauour. Neither shal they be accompanied wyth a garde of ruffelynge *rutters.* Neither shall they with Annas and Cayphas sit vpon

lyfe and death. Neyther shall they blesse in the sheate with miter, crosse, and cope. Neyther claim the higher seats, in side gowns, shauen crowns, and tippettes. Neither shal ther be sacke friars nor Franciscans. They shal not disfigure themselues to seme religious, nor saye longe prayers to appere holi, but in a sober conuersacion auoydynge superfluitie, they shall constantly witnesse the truth of God in the vniuersal world, to his glory and their edification. For sacke clothe in the scripture is a sygne of sobrietie, sadnes and temperaunce, as in Helias and John Baptist."—Bale's Image of both Churches, Part II. sign. B 3.

P. 445. l. 18. p. 461. l. 27. *chevisance*] bargain. "Old Fr. *cheivsawns*, chevissance, an agreement between debtor and creditor, relative to the loan of money."—Kelham.

> "They maken many a wrong *chevisaunce*,
> Heaping up waves of wealth and woe."
> Spencer Shep. Cal. May.—Todd's Johnson's Dict.

P. 450. l. 28. *of which he saved the fourth part in the dandiprats*] Dandiprat, a small piece of money, by coining which, Tyndale says, twenty-five per cent profit accrued to the government. Camden on Money, in his Remains, says "King Henry the Seventh stamped a small coin called dandiprats: and, first, as I read coined shillings, whereas before it was a name of weight rather than of coin." The word also means a dwarf.

"One of her chaplains,—a very *dandiprat*, and exceedingly deformed."—World of Wonders, Edit. 1608. p. 178. See Todd and Nares.

It is a curious coincidence that a few days after writing the above, and before the return of the proof to the printer, I am able to make the following extract from a letter from Constantinople, dated January 11, representing the Sultan, as doing precisely that which the Sultan of England did just three centuries ago. "For some time past, an apprehension has been felt here,

that some depreciation of the currency would be attempted, and the new coinage which has now made its appearance justifies the apprehension. I suspect the depreciation at the standard adopted cannot be less than 25 per cent: it is stamped 'war money.' "

P. 452. l. 26. *he calked.* P. 452. l. 27. *to calk,*] for calculated, and to calculate.

> " What mean then fool astrologers to *calke,*
> That twinkling starres fling down the fixed fate,
> And all is guided by the starrie state."
> Mirr. Mag. p. 425.

" I trowe master Wharton of Bongaye in Soth folke will not be behynde wyth hys part now, no more than he hath been a fore tyme wyth hys colege of *calkers* that *calked* so long for Cromwell, and for other more yf the worlde had not changed to their myndes."—Yet a Course at the Romyshe fox. fol. 5, b.

" The *Calkynge* of doctor Cronkhorne, with hys secrete reuelacyons. ibid, fol. 34, b.

P. 455. l. 18. *with all the socheners that he could make.*] By carefully comparing this and the correspondiug expressions respecting the socheners, with the particular events to which Tyndale refers, there can be no doubt that the Swiss mercenaries are included in the term, if not solely designated by it. If they are not thus described, he has not noticed them at all, though they were the principal actors in the very scenes to which he directs his reader's attention. They had been engaged to protect Lombardy, and when Louis sent his best general Tremoille in the spring of 1513 to retake Milan from the Son of Ludovico Sforza, they totally defeated, and almost entirely destroyed the French army, and caused those who escaped immediately to evacuate Italy.

The letters of cardinal Bambridge from Rome, 10th June,

to the king, printed from the Cotton MSS. Vitell. B. 2. in Fiddes Coll. p. 7. gives the account, that " upon *Sunday* last, a great, most cruel battle was committed at Novarra." He makes the two bodies of the Swiss, 5,500, and 7000, and the French army 8,500. He says " the victory of the Swiss is here esteemed marvellous noble; but they lost 5000 men. The pope hath this night shot a solemn peal of guns in triumph of the premises."—See Turner's Hist. Henry VIII. vol. i. p. 112-4.

P. 480. l. 20, 21. *He had learned also of his necromancy, that this would be a jeopardous year for him.* See pp. 411, 450, 452, (*calked nativities,*) 488, (*the prognostication.*)] Tyndale appears to have been a believer in judicial astrology, although there is no evidence to induce us to conclude that, like Melancthon and some other great men of his time, he studied the science, and cast nativities himself. He does not appear to discredit the revelations of necromancy, any more than Baxter and Hale the existence and devilish power of witchcraft, in a later period. Having mentioned witchcraft, such is the difficulty of restraining oneself in this kind of writing, I must cite a curious passage from a sermon of Bishop Jewel, preached before Elizabeth in the year 1558.

" And by the way, to touch but a word or two of this matter, for that the horrible vsing of your poore subiects inforceth thereunto: It may please your Grace to vnderstand, that this kind of people, I meane witches and sorcerers, within these few last yeeres, are maruellously increased within this your Graces realme. These eies haue seene most euident and manifest markes of their wickednesse. Your Graces subiects pine away euen unto the death, their colour fadeth, their flesh rotteth, their speech is benummed, their senses are bereft. Wherefore, your poore subiects most humble petition vnto your Highnesse, is, that the lawes touching such malefactours, may be put in due execution. For the shole of them is great, their doings horrible, their malice intollerable, the examples most miserable. And I pray God, they neuer practise further, than vpon the subiect." Jewell's Sermons, p. 204, Edit. 1609.

The good Bishop wished the laws to be put in execution. It should be remembered, that in the 33d of Henry VIII., the statute was enacted which adjudged all witchcraft and sorcery to be felony, without benefit of clergy.

But in reference to astrology, I was going to observe, that the devotedness of the learned Sir John Cheke, instructor, and afterwards Secretary of State to Edward the VIth, was singularly unpropitious to him: as Strype remarks, his too much confidence in this uncertain art contributed, in part, to the deplorable conclusion of his life. Doubtful of his safety in an intended journey to Brussels, he consulted with the art to know whether he might go without danger; and obtaining satisfaction he went, where he was apprehended, and brought to England, and lodged in the Tower. "Here, then," says the faithful biographer, "we leave Sir John Cheke a disconsolate prisoner in the Tower, now the second time under Queen Mary, to repent his credulity to the words and promises of Romanists, and his too much confidence in astrology, whereby he is imposed upon to his destruction. He went safe, indeed, to Brussels, but was far from returning safe back again. This art of conjecturing at, or foreknowing things and events by the position of the stars, about these times was exceedingly studied by both nobility and gentry; insomuch that Dr. Lawrence Humfrey, (who lived in these days, and was afterwards a learned Professor of Divinity at Oxford,) in a book which he wrote for the use and instruction of the gentry, exhorting them to the study of divers sciences, observed how this science, above the rest, was "so snatched at, so beloved, and even devoured, by most persons of honour and worship," that they needed no enticements to this, but a bridle rather; not a trumpeter to set them on, but a reprover to take them off from their heat. And that many had so trusted to this, that they almost distrusted God, and partook of such events as proved unhappy, not in truth foretold by the stars, nor expected by themselves: yet, as he would not wholly condemn the art, so should not the nobility have him a persuader nor an applauder of it, for that there were enow of them already."—Strype's Life of Sir J. Cheke, p. 107, 8. Edit. 1721.

" Qui bene conjicet hunc vatem.

" M. Tullius in opere De Divinatione lib. II. scribit Græcum versiculum vulgo jactatum exstare in hanc sententiam: *Qui bene conjiciet, vatem hunc perhibeto optimum.* Citat autem eum versiculum Plutarchus in libello De Responsis Pythiæ: Ὀ μὲν εἰκαζων καλῶς, ὃν αριστον μάντιν ἀνηγόρευκεν ἡ παροιμία. i. e. *Bene conjectans, quem optimum vatem appellavit proverbium.* Quanquam hic in Plutarcho locus mutilus erat et lacer. Attamen colligi potest carmen hujusmodi fuisse:

Μάντις γ' ἄριστος, ὅστις εἰκαζει καλῶς.

Atque ita citat ex Euripide in libro De Defectis Oraculis. Citat et M. Tullius libro ad Atticum 7. *A te,* inquit, *exspecto* futura μάντις γ' ἄριστορ. Huc allusit Theocritus in Piscatoribus, si modo Theocriti sunt illa:

- - - - - - - - - - - - Οὗτος ἄριστος.
Ἔστιν ὀνειροκρίτας ὁ διδάσκαλος ἴστι παῤ ᾧ νῦς.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - *Nemo*
i. e. *Somnia conjectat melius, quam mente magistra*
Qui regitur. - - - - - - - - -

Admonet adagium, futurorum præscientiam non è sortibus aut auguriis petendam esse, sed à prudentia. Siquidem qui prudentia sit præditus, is ex præteritorum, præsentiumque conjecturis facile prospiciet, quid sit eventurum. Proinde non injuria scripsit Aristoteles libro Moralium Eudemiorum septimo: Φρονίμων καὶ σοφῶν ταχεῖαν εἶναι τὴν μαντικὴν, καὶ μόνων. i. e. *Prudentium atque sapientum hominum celerem esse divinationem, et horum tantum.* Utinam hanc divinandi rationem amplectarentur principes, quorum hodie bona pars à prognostis et astrologis pendet, hominum genere, ut nunc sunt plerique, vano pariter ac seditioso, et reipublicæ pestilente."—Erasmus. Adag. Oper. tom. II. c. 515.

" The world," says Jortin, " is now pretty well cured of this folly, and *Astrology* is as poor a trade to live by as *Philology.*" This is very true. Such changes doth time produce. There lived, for instance, in the village where I was born, in the weald of Kent, an Astrologer of some

note in that part of the country. I think I see Master Gilbert, the old conjurer, as he was called, (and why should not his name be recorded as well as Lilly's, and Gadbury's, and Wharton's, and the rest of the star-infatuated tribe?) in his leather jerkin, and with his basket of weekly provisions, on a Saturday night, trudging through the fields to his solitary habitation, which stood in the midst of a large and well cultured garden, and was a comfortable abode for a day-labouring husbandman, in which humble station he learned his art, and from which it never elevated him. With some degree of trepidation I once repaired to this sequestered spot, to obtain his assistance in the recovery of a watch, (lately worn by a beloved deceased father, one of the most innocently humorous, kind-hearted, and pious men I ever knew,) which I had left on the bank of a river where I had been bathing. In due time the horoscope was drawn, the aspect of the heavens consulted, and an answer returned as instructive as the Delphian Oracle to Crœsus,

Κροισος Αλυν διαβας μεγαλην αρχην καταλυσει.

that "the watch was in some building not far from water."

But to return to Tyndale's times. Only, however, to observe, that various other means were used to obtain a knowledge of futurity, and the good or ill success of events, besides those which come strictly under the provinces of astrology and necromancy. The following specimen, written evidently about this period, was formerly in the collection of MSS. belonging to the venerable author of the Book of Martyrs.

"And yff thow weylt wete whether a man tells ye a falsse talle or a trewe, take the letters of hes name, and of hes surname, and of that daye; and putto all the nowmbere xxx., and than depart alle that holle nowmbere be xxv^{ti}: and yf ther leve euen nowmbere at the last ende yt ys falss that he tellett, and yff yt be odde yt ys trewe.

"And yf thow welt wette a gowng a pelgremage whether they shall well go and come, harmelles or nott, take the nowmbere of the letters of her names, and of the daye and of the age of the mowne, and the name of the place that thye goo to; and putto all thes xxx: and than depart all the holle nowm-

bere be xxv^{li} as longe as ye maye, and yf ther leue euen nowmbere they shall goo and come w^{t} owte hort or harme."

"And of thes manere ye maye wette all manere of thynges that ye dessyre.

"Also if ye well wette of a man that purpowsyth hem to haue a benefyce or to go to Relygyon, take the letters of hes name, and of the beneffece, and of the daye, and depart them be xxx.: and yf ther leue euen nowmbere he shall spede, and yf ther leue oode he shall not spede, and yf there leue ix he shall be relygyous."—Harleian MSS. No. 424. fol. 4.

P. 481. l. 9. *The Cardinal - - - high treason was laid to his charge.*] For an account of the articles exhibited against Wolsey, see Collier's Eccl. Hist. Vol. II. p. 38—43. who concludes his remarks upon them with the very just observation, that "there was more clamour than proof in the allegations." There are two imperfect copies of the Articles in the Cott. MSS., the one in Lord Burleigh's hand, wanting the beginning, (Vesp. F. ix. fol. 190.) which the other, (Julius F. vi. fol. 31. b.) apparently by the intention of Sir Robert Cotton, completes.

P. 481. l. 16. *A Parliament - - - reformation of mortuaries, &c.*] The Notes to this volume have accumulated to such an unexpected, and, I fear, unwarrantable extent, that I am reluctant to add one more to the number; but there is a shade of doubt on my mind whether I may not have been rather captious, and done Tyndale a slight injustice, in my former remarks on mortuaries; and as I am desirous that my theory, which, in some degree influences the presumption, that he has unrighteously aggravated the conduct of the clergy, or made a hasty and incorrect statement, may be regarded no farther than it is supported by unquestionable facts, I am induced to resume the subject, and venture to trespass a little farther on the reader's attention. A few extracts from Mr. Nicholas's valuable Repository of authentic documents, illustrative of the sentiments,

customs, manners, and history of our ancestors, will bring us to the period in which Tyndale wrote, and prepare the way for noticing the then state of things, and the reformations which were made by the parliament of the 21 Hen. VIII. 1529, to which he refers.

William de Beauchamp, father of the first Earl of Warwick, in his will dated at Wauberge, upon the morrow of the Epiphany, anno 1268, (Jan. 7, 1268-9.) 53 Hen. III. directs his body to be buried in the Friars Minors at Worcester. "I will that a horse, completely harnessed with all military caparisons, precede my corpse."—Nicholas. Vetust. Test. p. 50, 51.

"William de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, dated Holy Rood Day (Sept. 14.) 25 Edward I. 1296. to the place where I may be buried, two great horses; viz. those which shall carry my armour at my funeral."—p. 52.

"Richard, Bishop of Durham, in 1316 bequeaths two palfreys, viz. a black palfrey, and a small grey palfrey, to the church of Durham, before his burial."—p. 53.

"Roger La Warre, Knt. 28th April, 1368, 42 Edw. III. Also that my best horse shall be my principal (or mortuary), without any armour or man armed, according to the custom of mean people."—p. 75.

"William Morley, Knt. at Halinbury Magna, in Essex, April 15, 1379. My body to be buried in the church of the Friars Augustines at Norwich. And I will that two of my best horses be disposed of for mortuaries, viz. my best black horse to those Friars on the day of my funeral, and my palfrey called Don, to the Rector of the Church of Helingbury."—p. 104, 5.

"Robert Lord Willouby, of Eresby, Saturday, the Eve of the Holy Trinity, 19 Richard II. 1395. My body to be buried in the Chapel of the Holy Trinity of my Chapel of Spillesby. I will that the master of the said Chantry, being parish priest

of Spillesby, shall have my best horse and my best saddle for a mortuary, and in satisfaction of my tithes and oblations forgotten, or negligently paid by me, or my officers."—p. 136.

" Sir John Golafre, Knt. Jan. 19, 1393, bequeaths no mortuary to the Church, but ' to King Richard, my Lord, my better gross horse."—p. 135.

" Alice, widow of William Wyndesor, Knt. at Upmynster, on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, August 5th, 1400, 1 Henry IV. to the Church of Upmynster, one of my best oxen for a mortuary."— p. 152.

" Thomas Beaucham, Earl of Warwick, at Warwick Castle, 1st of April 1400. To every town whereof I am Lord or Patron of the Church xx marks in money, in the name of my principal (or mortuary), but if I depart out of this life at Warwick, then I desire that the Collegiate Church of our Lady there, shall have my best beast."—p. 153.

" John Lord Greystock, July 10th, 1434, 14 Henry VI. My body to be buried in the Collegiate Church of Greystock, to which I bequeath my best horse as a mortuary, and also all my habiliments of war, viz. coat armour, penons, gyron, &c." —p. 230.

" Sir John Nevill, Knt. 1449. I bequeath to the same place whar my body shall rest for my cors p'sant, a coursour cald Lywd Nevill. In Dugdale's Abstract, vol. i. p. 299. Lidiard Nevill."—p. 265.

" Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, August 9th, 1435. To the Collegiate Church of Warwick, an image of our Lady in pure gold, there to remain for ever in the name of a heriot." —p. 231.

" Katharine Lady Hastings, 1503. For my mortuary bequeath according to my custome."—p. 451.

"Guy Machell, Esq. of Crakenthorpe, in the County of Westmoreland, 24th October, 28 Henry VIII. 1536. My body to be buried within the Church of St. Michael of Appleby; for the portion of my mortuary iiis. ivd., and if that be not sufficient, I will that it be fully paid; for my tithes forgotten, my soul to be discharged of the Church xxd."—p. 676.

"Wm. Mylsent, 1523. To the high altar, for my tithes negligently forgotten and not done, iiis. ivd."—p. 618.

"Thomas Cavendish, ancestor of the Dukes of Devonshire, 13th April, 15 Henry VIII. I bequeath to the high awter of the parishe churche of St. Alban Wood-street, where I am a parishioner, for my offerings and tythes forgotten or negligently paid, in discharging of my soule, vis. viiid."—p. 607.

"You heard before (says Fox,) how a parliament was summoned to begin in the month of November, in the yeere following, Anno 1530.* At the beginning of which parliament, after that M. More had finished his oration, the Commons were commanded to chuse them a Speaker, who was Thomas Audley, Esquire, and Atturney to the Duchie of Lancaster. Thus the parliament being begun the sixth day of the foresaid moneth of November, at Westminster, where the King, with all the Lords, were set in the parliament chamber; the Commons, after they had presented their speaker, assembled in the nether house, began to commune of their griefes, wherewith the spiritualty had before time grievously oppressed them, contrary both to all right, and to the law of the realme, and specially were sore moved with these six great causes.

Grievances against the Clergie of England.

"1. The first, for the excessive fines which the Ordinaries tooke for probates of Testaments, insomuch that Sir Henry

* Fox is mistaken in his date, as is too often the case with him. This parliament was a year earlier.

Guilford, Knight of the Garter, and Controller of the King's house, declared in the open parliament, of his fidelity, that he and others being executors to Sir William Compton, Knight, paid for the probate of his will, to the Cardinal and the Archbishop of Canterbury, a thousand marks sterling. After this declaration, were showed so many extortions done by ordinaries for probates of wills, that it were too much to rehearse.

"2. The second cause was, the great polling and extreme exaction which the spirituall men used, in taking of corps presents, or mortuaries; for the children of the dead should all die for hunger, and go a begging, rather than they would of charity give to them the silly cow, which the dead man ought, [owed] if he had but onely one, such was the charity of them.

"3. The third cause was, that priests being surveyors, stewards, and officers to Bishops, Abbats, and other spirituall Heads, had and occupied farmes, granges, and grasing in every countrey, so that the poore husbandmen could have nothing but of them, and yet for that they should pay deerely.

"4. The fourth cause was, that Abbats, Priors, and spiritual men kept Tan-houses, and bought and sold wool, cloth, and all manner of merchandise, as other temporall merchants did.

"5. The fifth cause was, because the spirituall persons promoted to great benefices, and having their livings of their flock, were lying in the court in Lord's houses, and took all of their parishioners, and nothing spent on them all; so that for lack of residence both the poore of the parish lacked refreshing, and universally all the parishioners lacked preaching and true instructions of God's word; to the great perill of their souls.

"6. The sixth cause was, because one priest, being little learned, had ten or twelve benefices, and was resident on none, and many well learned schollers in the Universitie, which were able to preach and teach, had neither benefice nor exhibition.

"These things before this time might in no wise be touched, nor yet talked of by any man, except he would be made an heretike, or lose all that he had: for the bishops were Chancellors, and had all the rule about the King, so that no one durst once presume to attempt any thing contrary to their profit or commodity.

"But now when God had illuminated the eyes of the king, and the time so served, that men more boldly durst expresse with voice such grudges as they had long conceived in their heart against the clergy; the burgesses of the Parliament appointed certaine of the Common house, men learned in the law, to draw one bill of the probates of Testaments, another for Mortuaries, and the third for non-residence, pluralities, and taking farms by spirituall men.

"And first, to the bill of Mortuaries being drawn, and being also passed the Common house, and sent up to the higher, the spirituall Lords shewed a faire face, saying, that assuredly priests and curates tooke more than they should, and therefore it were well done to take some reasonable order. Thus they spake, because it touched them but little.

"After this, within two dayes, was sent up the second bill, concerning probates of Testaments: which bill, because it touched their profit somewhat neere, both the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all other bishops in generall, began to frowne and grunt: insomuch as Doctor John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, standing up in the Parliament chamber, openly protested, that such bills were sent up from the Common house, tending to no other thing, but to the destruction of the Church: which church being downe, the glory, then, of the whole kingdom (said he,) must needs fall; desiring therefore the lords, for God's sake, to take example by the kingdome of Bohemia. For as it was then with the people there, so now what say the Commons here, but, Downe with the Church? And all this (said he) seemeth to be onely for lacke of faith. When these words were reported to the Commons of the lower house, what the bishop had said, in noting all their doings to bee for lacke of faith, they tooke the matter grieuously, so to be esteemed of the bishop for no better than heretiques; understanding, moreouer, how that he by those slanderous words went about to perswade the Lords temporall against them, and so to ouerthrow the two bills by them passed before, as yee haue heard.

"Whereupon, after long debate, it was at length agreed by the said Commons; that Thomas Audley, their speaker, with thirty of the chiefe of that house, should be sent to the King;

being then in his palace at Westminster, before called Yorke Place: where they eloquently declared, what a dishonour to the king and the realme it was, to say that they which were elected for the wisest men of all the shires, cities, and boroughs within the realme of England, should be declared in so noble and open presence, to lacke faith, which was equiualent to say that they were infidels, and no Christians, as ill as Turkes or Saracens: so that what paine or study soeuer they tooke for the commonwealth, or what acts or lawes soeuer they made or stablished, should be taken as lawes made by painims and heathen people, and not worthy to bee kept by Christian men: wherefore they most humbly besought the king's highnesse to call the said bishop before him, and to cause him to speake more discreetly of such a number as were in the Common house.

"The king being not well contented with the saying of the bishop, yet gently answered the speaker, and sent him away. Who immediately sent for the Archbishop of Canterbury, and six other bishops, and Rochester also, signifying unto them the grudge of the Commons.

"The bishop of Rochester, excusing himself, answered, that he in so saying meant onely the doings of the Bohemians to be for lack of faith, and not the doing of them that were in the common house, which saying was confirmed by the bishops there present, which had him in great reputation. And so by that onely saying the king accepted his excuse, and therefore sent word to the commons by Sir William Fitzwilliams Knight, treasurer of his household. Which blind excuse pleased the commons nothing at all.

"After this, diuers assemblies were kept betweene certaine of the Lords and certaine of the Commons, for the bills of the probates of Testaments, and Mortuaries. The temporaltie laid to the spiritualtie their owne lawes and constitutions: and the spiritualtie sore defended them by prescription and vsage. To whom it was thus answered by a gentleman of Grayes Inn; The vsage hath euer been of theeues to rob on Shooter's hill: *Ergo*, is it lawful? With this answer the spirituall men were sore offended, because their doings were called robberies: but

the temporall men stood still by their sayings, insomuch that the said Gentleman said to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that both the exaction of probates of Testaments, and the taking of Mortuaries, as they were used, were open robberie and theft. After long disputation, the temporall Lords began to leane to the Commons: but for all that the bills remained unconcluded for a time.

"It followed shortly after in the parliament, that a bill was assented to by the Lords of the higher house, and sent downe to the Commons in the lower house, and by them also with much labour agreed vnto, of whom the most part were the king's seruants. In the which Bill it was required and concluded, that the king should be released of all such loane of money which he had borrowed of his subjects in the fifteenth yeere of his raigne. The passing of which bill went sore against the stomacks of the poore Commons: for many rested vpon it, counting and passing it ouer one to another for good debt, as if it had beene ready money in their purses. Wherefore the king, to gratifie them againe, granted to them a generall pardon of all offences, onely certaine great offences and debts excepted. Also he aided them for the redresse of their griefes against the spiritualtie, and caused the two new bills to be made indifferently, both for the probates of the Testaments, and Mortuaries: which bills were so reasonable, that the spiritual Lords assented to them all, though they were sore against their mindes, and in especiall the probate of testaments sore displeased the bishops, and the mortuaries sore displeased the parsons and vicars.

"After these acts thus agreed, the Commons make another Act for pluralities of Benefices, non-residence, buying and selling, and taking of farmes by spirituall persons. Which act so displeased the spiritualtie, that the priests railed on the Commons of the lower house, and called them heretiques and scismaticks: for the which diuers priests were punished.

"This act was sore debated aboue in the parliament chamber, and the lords spirituall would in no wise consent. Wherefore the king perceiving the grudge of the Commons, caused eight lords and eight of his commons to meet in the Star

Chamber at an afternoone, and there was sore debating of the cause, in so much that the temporall lords of the upper house, which were there, tooke part with the Commons against the spirituall lords, and by force of reason caused them to assent to the bill, with a little qualifying. Which bill the next day was wholly agreed to in the lords' house, to the great rejoycing of the lay people, and to the great displeasure of the spirituall persons."—Acts and Mon. p. 254, 5. Edit. 1641.

Collier, who is ever unfriendly to Fox, and loses no opportunity of reflecting on him, seems to coincide with this relation of the proceedings of parliament; at least, prefers it to Burnet's, whose history, also, he made it his business to disparage. He says, "I have already observed some regulations were made in this session concerning *Mortuaries*; 'tis said the Lords spiritual opposed the passing this bill with a great deal of vehemence and satyr.[a] But Fox reports the Bishops much more to advantage.[b] This historian expressly assures us, that the first *bills* sent up from the *Commons* to the Lords were warmly contested; and after a great length of debate, came to nothing. Upon this disappointment, two new ones were drawn by the king's order, which appeared so reasonable, that the spiritual Lords made no difficulty to pass them."—Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 47.

"Mortuaries are taken away, under certain conditions and limitations, in Wales, Berwick and Chester, by 21 Hen. VIII. (1529.) cap. 6. sect. 6. 12 Anne, stat. 2. cap. 6. 28 Geo. II. cap. 6."

"It is enacted by 21 Hen. VIII. cap. 6. That all mortuaries, or corse presents to parsons of any parish, shall be taken in the following manner, unless where by custom less, or none at all is due; viz. for every person who does not leave goods to the value of ten marks, nothing; for every person who leaves goods to the value of ten marks, and under 30*l.*, 3*s.* 4*d.*; if above 30*l.* and under 40*l.*, 6*s.* 8*d.*; if above 40*l.*, of what value soever they be, 10*s.*, and no more. And no mortuary shall,

[a] Bp. Burnet, Hist. Reform. Pt. I. p. 83.
[b] Fox, p. 995. Edit, 2.

throughout the kingdom, be paid for the death of any feme-covert; nor for any child; nor for any one of full age, that is not a housekeeper; nor for any way-faring man; but such way-faring man's mortuary shall be paid in the parish to which he belongs. And upon this statute stands the law of mortuaries to this day."—Rees. Cycl.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

P. 493. l. 16. *For* Maefield *read* Maxfield.

Ibid. l. 19. *For* p. 3. *read* p. 111.

P. 494. l. 2. *Memorials of William Tyndale, &c.*] In answer to enquiries after this compilation, I must refer to St. James, the fourth chapter, and the fifteenth verse.

P. 521. l. 34. *His Treatise of Morals.*

"The philosophers of antiquity, in the absence of superior light, consulted with reverence the permanent principles of nature, which they employed all the powers of reason and eloquence to unfold, to adorn, to enforce; and thereby formed a luminous commentary *on the law written on the heart.* The virtue which they inculcated grew out of the stock of human nature: it was a warm and living virtue. It was the moral man, possessing in every limb and feature, in all its figure and movements, the harmony, dignity, and variety which belong to the human form: it was an effort of unassisted nature to restore that image of God, which sin had mutilated and defaced. Imperfect, as might be expected, their morality was often erroneous; but in its great outlines, it had all the sta-

bility of the human constitution, and its fundamental principles were coeval and coexistent with human nature. There could be nothing fluctuating and arbitrary in its more weighty decisions, since it appealed every moment to *the man within the breast:* it pretends to nothing more than to give voice and articulation to the inward sentiments of the heart and conscience, echoed to its oracles. This, wrought into different systems, and under various modes of illustration, was the general form which morality exhibited, from the creation of the world till our time."

The eloquent writer adds in a note, "The system which founds morality on utility, an utility, let it be *always* remembered, confined to the purposes of the present world, issued with ill omen from the school of infidelity. It was first broached, I believe, certainly first brought into general notice, by Mr. Hume, in his Treatise on Morals, which he himself pronounced *incomparably the best* he ever wrote. It was incomparably the best for his purpose; nor is it easy to imagine a mind so acute as his did not see the effect it would have in setting morality and religion afloat; and substituting for the stability of principle, the looseness of speculation and opinion. It has since been rendered popular by a succession of eminent writers; by one especially, (I doubt not, with intentions very foreign from those of Mr. Hume,) whose great services to religion, in other respects, prevents me from naming. This venerable author, it is probable, little suspected to what lengths the principle would be carried, or to what purposes it would be applied in other hands. Had he forseen this, I cannot but imagine he would have spared this part of his acute speculations."

"We have, happily, preserved to us two complete Treatises on Morals, in which the authors professed to give us a complete view of our duties; the one composed by the greatest master of reason, the other of eloquence, the world ever saw. The first of these has distinguished, classified, and arranged the elements of *social morality,* which is all he could reach in the absence of revelation, with that acuteness, subtilty, and precision for which he was so eminently distinguished. Whoever

attentively peruses his Treatise, on the Nichomachean Morals I mean, will find a perpetual reference to the inward sentiments of the breast. He builds every thing on the human constitution. He all along takes it for granted, that there is a moral impress on the mind, to which, without looking abroad, we may safely appeal. In a word, Aristotle never lost the moralist in the accountant. He has been styled the Interpreter of Nature, and has shewn himself a most able commentator on the *law written on the heart.*"

Let it be admitted that Aristotle makes an appeal to the sentiments of the heart, as the standard by which actions are to be weighed, and their qualities determined; yet can it be maintained, that such an innate sense, orsuch a class of principles, has ever been clearly recognized in the experience of mankind as an essential part of the human constitution, whose guidance may be safely trusted, and whose decisions are unvarying and immutable? Shall we select the philosopher himself, who is styled "a most able commentator on the law written on the heart," as presenting a specimen of the contents of its code, and the value of its sanctions? Who will ascertain for us the objects, and define the boundary, of his internal illumination? In the intellectual region is God dethroned, and does virtue preserve her jurisdiction and authority inviolate? On her domain does the sun never go down, on that of the Deity, the day-star never appear? does the Moral Shekinah shed its light on time, and involve eternity in deeper darkness; illustrate the wilderness, and obscure paradise? How does it happen that he should possess an intuitive perception of right and wrong in human actions, and in his heart and understanding be so blinded and alienated from the life of God, as to form no idea of him as the Legislator, Ruler, or Judge of the world? that the moral impress stamped upon the mind should be legible in what relates to man in his individual and social character, and bear no traces of the image and superscription of him whose work it is; that the oracle should respond to every call of humanity, and not join the music of the spheres in hymning the praises of the Almighty Maker of heaven and earth, who is good to all, and openeth his hand, and satisfieth the desire of

every living thing, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and whose dominion endureth throughout all generations.

"And, farther, is it possible to conceive, that one whose views were bounded solely by this time-state, should have no reference, in his estimate of virtue, to the benefits which result from its exercise; and, in fact, does he not often inculcate one line of conduct in preference to another, *because* the tendency of the one is to produce happiness, the other misery? It is granted, that he instructs us to manufacture our stock of happiness principally within ourselves, rather than depend for a supply on the external goods of fortune, seeing they are less valuable, and more precarious and perishable than the possessions of the mind. Thus, after all, in my humble opinion, does the appeal to the *man within the breast*, as conducted by this *Hierophanta mysteriorum moralium*, 'the greatest master of reason the world ever saw,' begin and end in self-idolatry. The worshipper stands not in dread of the Deity. When he enters the chamber of imagery, he sees no spectral hand forming mystic characters against the wall; he hears no fore-dooming, appalling voice, denouncing *Indignation, and Wrath; Tribulation and Anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil;* but no sooner does the incense of adulation ascend from the altar, than he finds the god propitious to his desires, and he departs self-commended and justified in his own conceit. The judge at whose bar he appears, will modify his sentence according to the fashions of the country, or manners of the age in which the appeal is made. The temple of the Divinity is not the house of penitence or prayer; nor the court of the Judge the seat of justice and retribution; but both, as the changing opinions of the multitude determine, are convertible into an exchange of merchandise, a masquerade of folly, or a den of thieves.[a] In fine, it appears to me incon-

[a] The reader, if he is so disposed, may alter or extend this sentence to an almost indefinite extent; and be justified by an appeal to the page of history for the fact, of the most grotesque and discordant opinions and practices bearing sway over different communities and countries; and even of the same tribes, or nations, in successive stages of their progression, which have possessed alike the sanction of the moral feeling in their favour,

testible, that every system of virtue and morals, of which man is the sole architect, the Alpha and Omega, will, if resolved into its primary elements, be found to be a system of private convenience and advantage, and erected solely on the basis of utility. "It is to put the young and ardent admirer of classical literature upon his guard, that he may be watchful as to the defects of every system but one, and set his eyes fully upon the glory of that one, the system revealed to us by God himself, that I have thought it right to present these remarks."

I shall only observe, farther, the late Dr. Rennell had the honour of first sacrificing Paley to Aristotle, in the midst of a splendid panegyric on the attributes of this celebrated Treatise. Dr. Gillies, less severe, only requested the poet Gray not to interrupt him with his murmurs, while he, (to use his own words in reference to the performances of others,) "adorned it with all the embroidery of declamation."

But whether this venerable relick be enshrined in gold and

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or against which, if it has at any time remonstrated, yet never so as to produce any thing like uniformity of decision, or agreement, among the universal family of mankind, on questions the most interesting and important to their well-being and happiness. Try the experiment, thus: but both, as the changing inclinations and opinions of the multitude determine, are convertible into an exchange of merchandize, or a brothel of impurity; a pantheon of superstition, or an inquisition of torture; a den of thieves, or a haunt of the foulest conspirators against the rights, freedom, and happiness of mankind. And in thus summing up, allow Paley a word in reply to Aristotle, who has received applause sufficient at his expense.

"Aristotle lays down, as a fundamental and self-evident maxim, that nature intended barbarians to be slaves; and proceeds to deduce from this maxim a train of conclusions, calculated to justify the policy which then prevailed. And I question whether the same maxim be not still self-evident to the company of merchants trading to the coast of Africa.

"Nothing is so soon made as a maxim; and it appears from the example of Aristotle, that authority and convenience, education, prejudice, and general practice, have no small share in the making of them; and that the laws of custom are very apt to be mistaken for the order of nature.

"For which reason, I suspect, that a system of morality, built upon instincts, will only find out reasons and excuses for opinions and practices already established—will seldom correct or reform either."—Paley's Moral Philosophy.

precious stones, or exhibited in glittering tinsel, I must, as a Protestant, withhold my devotion, until I am convinced of the justice of its claims to my reverence and homage.—See Hall's Sentiments, proper to the Present Crisis. Rennell's Benevolence exclusively an Evangelical Virtue. Dr. Gregory's Mem. of Dr. Mason Good, p. 175.

P. 522. l. 1. *For* speculations *read* speculation.

P. 532. l. 16. *Want of time.*] Although I was pressed for time when under the necessity of sending that sheet to the press, yet on the whole, I hope I have not been culpably indiligent: and to seek refuge in so vain a shadow of an excuse for the imperfection of these appended Notes, would be the dotage of pusillanimity. The truth is, the writing of them was not originally contemplated, and the printing of the Volume was far advanced when the resolution was formed, and the attempt made, to redeem the interval which remained of the time announced for its publication. I shall regret exceedingly, however, if the impartial critic be constrained to adopt the language of the Saintly Martyrologist in reference to the first English Edition of his Acts and Monuments, that the materials were "hastily rashed up:" not *raked up*, as in the Edition of 1684, commonly called the *best*, but certainly far from being the most correct.

P. 535. last line, *for* 58, *read* 33.

P. 538. l. 2. *Robert Langland somewhere says.*] I had written Tyndale, but not finding a passage of this kind in his works, and the following occurring in the Visions of Piers Plouhman, ascribed to Robert Langland, written in, or immediately after

the year 1362, it is most likely that this is the authority on which I depended.

> " For, while Fortune is thy frend, freres wollen the lovye,
> And fastne the in here fraternite, and for the by seche
> To here priour provincial, hus pardon to have,
> And praye for ye pol by pol, yf you be *pecunius.*"

Par.—For, as long as Fortune is thy friend, the friars will love thee, and incorporate thee into their brotherhood, and beseech their provincial prior, that thou mayest have his pardon, besides which they will one and all pray for thee, if thou be only *pecuniosus.* p. 201.

P. 506. l. 24. *landes*, so in Gilby; but, query, if it should not have been *handes*.

P. 534. l. 6. *for* cerimoniarum, *read* ceremoniarum.

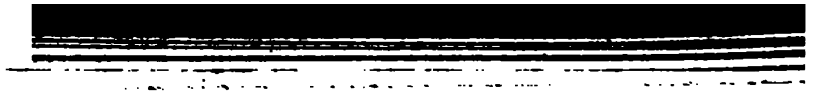
P. 565. l. 19. *for* with to what, *read* with what.

P. 576. l. 7. after Edward the VIth, and before was, insert to this science.

Ibid. l. 13. *for* where he, *read* where, however, he.

P. 592. l. 7. note. *Pantheon of superstition.*] At the last hour before this sheet is printed, a striking illustration of this part of the sentence presents itself, in the words of an excellent and zealous prelate, delivered May 6, at the Annual Meeting of the Church Missionary Society. "They were engaged," said the Bishop of Winchester, "in the glorious work of promoting the salvation of the world; and, with the prayers of the righteous, must be successful in such a cause. In some recent letters of one of the greatest ornaments to his church, might be found passages which would have the effect of increasing their ardour for proselytizing in India, if it wanted any additional inducement. He alluded to the late Bishop Heber,—a divine snatched away too soon from the scene of his labours; too soon for the interest of the Christian world, although not too soon for himself. The Hindoos he represented to be vicious by the operation of their religion. They were taught

crime from principle, and had been brought up in the worst of all religions. They shed blood without the slightest repugnance, were incapable of sympathy for any one not belonging to their own caste, and had been perverted to the most hateful abominations by a system of degrading and unnatural superstitions. He would ask, Whether there could be a stronger motive for eradicating Indian idolatry?"—As reported in the *Times*.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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